

The World Tomorrow

NOVEMBER, 1931

HOW MAY

Sidney B. Fay

Norman Thomas

Laura Puffer Morgan

Reinhold Niebuhr

Halford E. Luccock

ANOTHER

WORLD WAR

Raymond B. Fosdick

W. Hamilton Fyfe

Devere Allen

George A. Coe

Kirby Page

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The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIV

NOVEMBER, 1931

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We're All in the Breadline

Cedric Long

After Fourteen Months in Europe

Devere Allen

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV

November, 1931

No. 11

Editorials

The Strategy of Peace

Under the sponsorship of a distinguished company of men and women from all sections of the United States and Canada, THE WORLD TOMORROW is arranging peace mass meetings simultaneously* in 150 cities across the continent. These gatherings are being held at the most critical period in international relations since the Armistice. Their purpose is to help awaken the citizens of these countries to a realization of the tragic seriousness of the present situation, to attempt an outline of the steps which must be taken if a world conflagration is to be averted, and to challenge men and women everywhere to intelligent and courageous action during these momentous days.

In this issue we are presenting a series of articles dealing in sequence with several aspects of the high enterprise of waging peace. Perhaps this is an appropriate moment for THE WORLD TOMORROW to present a concise summary of its concept of the strategy of peace.

The most urgent responsibility resting upon governments is the prevention of the early outbreak of international armed hostilities. As these words are being written, Japan and China are on the brink of warfare. Likewise the tension between Germany and France is exceedingly grave. The overthrow of the moderate administration in Germany and the substitution of a dictatorship, black or red—with the consequent refusal to recognize the Treaty of Versailles, to remain unarmed, and to pay reparations—would jeopardize every move for peace now being made. Other ominous clouds are moving swiftly across the international sky.

The peaceful solution of problems which have given rise to a serious emergency requires international machinery. The absence of adequate international agencies in 1914 was a primary cause of the World War. The most elementary precaution of gathering the respective statesmen together for a face-to-face consideration of the threatening situation was not taken, and this failure frustrated every pacific endeavor. No machinery existed that could be set instantly into motion. Fortunately, long strides have been taken in the intervening years. Members of the League of Nations are committed to conference prior to overt hostility, and the Council is empowered instantly to assemble representatives of all nations involved in a threatening crisis. Numerous treaties are in force which bind the signatories to enter

conference and to explore all avenues of pacific settlement. The Briand-Kellogg Pact obligates sixty nations to seek only the pacific settlement of whatever controversies may arise among them.

The swift march of events may prove that the existing machinery is too fragile to withstand a succession of crises and the nations may again welter in blood. But one thing we can say with assurance: without the League of Nations the prospect of maintaining peace would be utterly hopeless. THE WORLD TOMORROW is committed, therefore, to the proposition that the organization of the world on a basis of peace is indispensable. We strongly urge the entrance of the United States into the World Court, the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and the putting forth of every possible effort to strengthen the structure of peace.

But we are not deluded into believing that international machinery by itself can preserve the peace. The most irritating causes of hostility must be removed. Since the race of armaments produces increased suspicion, fear and enmity, disarmament is a necessary price of peace. It seems to us inescapable that drastic reduction or outright cancellation of war debts and reparations is imperatively necessary if Germany is to avoid violent revolution, with calamitous consequences for other nations. The present perilous practice of the great powers of intervening with armed force must be abandoned, and the protection of the property of a nation's citizens in foreign lands confined to pacific means.

A yet more drastic change is required. The competitive economic order breeds hostility among classes and nations and must itself be radically transformed before permanent peace can be assured. We are opposed to the communist method of violent change, but are convinced that thorough and speedy steps must be taken by pacific and constitutional means to transform the capitalist system into a socialist commonwealth if violent upheaval is to be averted.

It is obvious that if the world is to be pacifically organized and if the major causes of war are to be removed, a world-wide campaign of education is required. The international mind and heart must be created, kept informed and rendered eternally vigilant. Our apprehensions for the future would be greater were it not for the fact that minorities have it within their

power to determine national policies. We are convinced beyond doubt that two million men and women in the United States, and a parallel number in other countries, by paying the price of equipping themselves for intelligent and vigorous participation in the task of creating public opinion in behalf of international friendship and cooperation, could enormously reduce the probability of armed hostilities with other nations; especially if this two per cent has gone on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war. We are therefore enthusiastic supporters of the international war resistance movement which seeks to build up in all the countries minorities of men and women who are resolved never to take up arms against each other and who have made known this determination to their own governments.

Japanese Militarists Strike

Reliable cablegrams from dispassionate neutrals in Manchuria reveal the aggressive designs of the Japanese military authorities in that region. The evidence is conclusive that an effort is being made to capitalize the prevailing confusion and unrest throughout the earth, and in particular the tragic weakness of China, as was done during the World War when the notorious 21 Demands were made. In addition to seizing Mukden and occupying additional territory, the Japanese military authorities are endeavoring to set up a puppet autonomous Manchurian government which they would dominate. Foreign Minister Shidehara is known to be opposed to aggression, but apparently he is being overruled by his military colleagues.

In following this aggressive and inexcusable policy, the Japanese are, it must be admitted, treading a deeply grooved pathway. All the great powers at various times have intervened with armed force in the affairs of foreign countries, have seized strategic centers and then camouflaged the situation by establishing puppet administrations of native residents. The United States, for example, has intervened with armed force in the Caribbean on the average of once a year for thirty years, and has often dominated local governments. In fairness to Japan it ought also to be pointed out that she is dependent to an extraordinary degree upon the resources of Manchuria for her own prosperity. Japan is a very small country and only one acre in six can be cultivated. She has utterly inadequate supplies of coal, iron, and oil and is compelled to import food. In Manchuria are vast quantities of essential raw commodities and minerals.

Nevertheless, this military aggression has precipitated a crisis of the gravest magnitude. The peace of the world cannot be maintained and our civilization cannot be preserved if the ancient policy of armed intervention and aggression is to be continued. China simply will not submit to the seizure of Manchuria by Japan. If attention is called to the fact that the former

country is torn with civil war and rendered desolate by flood and famine, it is still true that the Chinese will resort to the boycott, at which they are masters. The inevitable outcome of armed hostilities between these two countries will be chaos and anarchy, with incalculable damage to everyone concerned.

The all-important next step is for the League of Nations, vigorously supported by the Government of the United States, to demand the cessation of armed fighting and to set in operation the processes of pacific settlement of the controversy. Whether or not this is to be accomplished will doubtless be decided before this number of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* reaches our readers. More drastic steps are necessary, however. The policy of armed intervention by one nation in the affairs of another country must be abandoned, and the insistence upon special interests under the guise of a Monroe Doctrine (American, Japanese, or British) must be relinquished.

The Japanese in Manchuria have undoubtedly been subjected to provocation. Extreme bitterness prevails and it is altogether likely that their property and commercial interests have been endangered. It is also true that the Japanese are able to find many precedents for their action. But their aggressiveness is infuriating the Chinese and further endangering property and life. Even if the present crisis is passed without actual warfare, another emergency will surely arise unless all the powers, including Japan, consent to the abandonment of the practice of armed intervention. This is a highly opportune moment for the Government of the United States to announce its intention to withdraw all troops from foreign soil and to confine its protective efforts abroad to pacific processes.

The Bankers' Pool

Observers in financial centers generally credit the President's initiative in creating a national banking pool with the avoidance of possibly grave disasters in the banking world. Popular confidence in the solvency of financial institutions was sinking to lower and lower levels, a decrease of prestige which tended to create the condition it feared. Contraction of credit by the larger banks sent smaller houses to the wall and had the effect of diminishing still further the assets of all banks. The amount of money which was being withdrawn from savings institutions and placed in hiding was reaching tremendous proportions. A national pool upon which harassed banks may draw will undoubtedly save the life of many an institution that might otherwise be forced by timid depositors to liquidate its assets at a time when it is impossible to liquidate any kind of securities.

The question we should like to raise is why the urgency which prompted national action in the field of banking does not also justify national action in the field of unemployment. True, no national resources have

been drawn on to date. The pool is a voluntary effort so far. But President Hoover has promised legislation similar to that which created the war finance board, if such action proves necessary. We are unable to see why the action taken in regard to banks should be hailed as the acme of wisdom by some of the same influences in our national life which decry a Federal attempt to solve the unemployment problem as contrary to American ideals, principles, customs, laws, and memories of the sacred fathers. The bankers' pool is an interesting indication of how inevitably we resort to national action if we are really interested in solving a problem. After all, the economic life of the nation is one, and its necessities will continue to drive us into national solutions.

The British Election

The events in England culminating in the general election are not very reassuring for all those who have trusted the Labor party to show the world the way to finding a modern industrial civilization under social control without the use of revolutionary methods. The charge that apostles of cataclysm always bring against the parliamentary method is that it peters out in reform ventures which become more and more imperceptible. The defection of MacDonald and Snowden reveals the end of hazards which a melioristic party program runs. Part of the difficulty must, of course, be attributed to the personal weakness of MacDonald himself who is something of a sentimentalist and addicted to self-dramatization. It was one thing for him to engage in a momentary venture of collaboration with other parties in order to save the pound sterling. We do not disagree as to the necessity of this move, but at least it was understandable. He might have argued that Labor was not powerful enough to take the kind of action which the situation and the party's own principles required. Even then, it would have been better had he gone out of office rather than pursue a course incompatible with the policy of his party and the interests of the underprivileged whom it represents. Nevertheless, the action was more defensible than that which Mr. MacDonald is adopting at the present moment. To allow himself to be used by the Tory party—which probably would have fought the election without him on the issue of tariffs, had not the deflation of the pound created an effective tariff and robbed that issue of its urgency—is a rather sad ending of a political career. Of course, the "national government" which Mr. MacDonald is leading into the election is national in name only, for but a small portion of the Liberal party and practically no real faction in the Labor party will support it. In all probability, however, it will win the election, unless general misery and the lowered wage caused by deflation drive the populace into revolt and

so return Labor to power. Whether Labor is defeated or not, it has been definitely turned to the left, and class-cleavage has been accentuated in British political life. The unction with which the middle-class community accepts all those who support the national government as heroes and fastens the stigma of treason upon those who oppose it is an interesting revelation of the class character of political judgments and the inevitable tendency of one class to monopolize the virtues and glories of patriotism.

It is questionable whether England will ever return to the original value of the pound, as it is indeed a question whether the country in 1925 should have returned to it. The pound will probably be pegged at a lower figure. This will mean among other things that Labor will have to work for years to regain the living standards which until recently it enjoyed, for prices will rise and wages will rise much more slowly than prices. Whether the deflated pound will restore prosperity to British industry remains to be seen. At all events the economic and political stability of Britain has been shaken and the social conflict accentuated, while the sentimentality of trusted leaders of Labor has given the movement of the opposing parties the semblance of a policy dictated by national emergency. At the present rate it may not be long before Britain faces the kind of political situation which harasses Germany.

The War Path Again

This time it is Smedley D. Butler of the Marines. He is talking about dealing with gangsters, but note the terms he employs: "use the bayonet on him," "we must mobilize an army, train and arm its members, give them competent, uncontrolled, and courageous leaders, and then tell them to go out to do or die," "speedy motor cars, armored and equipped with all the necessary arms," "punching the jaws of gunmen . . . to get valuable information," "in jail without hearings and without advice of counsel." This is his way of establishing law and order as he explains it in the October *Forum*—another war to end war!

Such an outburst is not surprising in General Butler, for, as H. G. Wells put it, "the professional military mind is by necessity an inferior and unimaginative mind." Unfortunately there are too many other people who, having learned nothing about war or about crime, are quite ready to follow him down such a blind alley. It was in 1927 that the Texas bankers made their offer of \$5,000 for every dead bank robber; and then after innocent men had been framed and shot in order to collect the bounty, and more banks had been robbed than before, the *Bankers Journal* continued to exhort the bankers to do more shooting.

It ought to be fairly evident by this time, both from common observation and scientific investigation, that

lawlessness and violence promote anything but order and peace. Violent suppression of crime, no matter how well intentioned it may be, simply does not meet the situation. Crime in general is a social phenomenon, and its roots and causes must be sought and dealt with in the social situation where they develop; we must go back to the source if we would reduce crime.

In the individual who has developed unsocial, vicious, and criminal ways, the problem is how he can be cured or re-educated. This is not a pious hope or a sentimental wish. Even in our admittedly imperfect society, we have institutions (though their number is pitifully small) demonstrating their capacity to rebuild both young and old offenders and turn them into decent citizens.

The crux of the matter is that the criminal needs to be cured rather than punished. Such a phrase still shocks many people who have never thought beyond a penology based on vengeance. That system, because of its futility, is too costly to be allowed to continue unchallenged merely to satisfy the sadistic sentimentality of the ignorant.

Granted that we need a more effective system of apprehending those who have committed crimes, and granted that there will be those who will have to be isolated permanently from society because of our inability to find a cure for them, it still remains true that the big job with the great majority will be re-educating them for life with their fellow human beings. The suppression or extinction policy of our militarists is defeatism at its worst.

Students Renounce War Methods

On a number of college campuses this fall students are doing their bit to renounce war by objecting to military training—the point at which they come into direct personal contact with the war system. A group in Oklahoma appealed to civic organizations for support. The state officers and the national president of the Farmers' Union replied:

Any student, it makes no difference what year he is, in the A. & M. College at Stillwater who does not desire to take military training, and if authorities there demand that he take it, we request that he report to the State Farmers' Union, here. We will see that he attends school without taking military training, even if we have to go to the courts to do it, and it will be without expense to him.

Just before college opened these same students presented a petition signed by several hundred prominent citizens to the authorities of the two state institutions asking immediate exemption for all objectors to military drill and abolition of the compulsory feature of drill at the next board meeting. Governor Murray announced that the University could not compel students to drill.

The first student objector to test the ruling (a Methodist boy) was exempted.

Five sophomores at Pennsylvania State College—Jew, two Presbyterians, a Methodist, and a member of the Reformed Church—have refused to participate in drill on the ground that they are conscientiously opposed to military training. Their cases are still pending. Students at Cornell University, Mississippi A. M. College, Kansas Aggie, California, Washington, and South Dakota have either been granted exemption or are still pressing their claims. The Methodists are supporting a test case at Ohio State University, where a freshman refuses to drill because his religious principles do not permit him to do so.

Three boys, members of the Seventh Day Adventist faith, have been expelled from the public schools at Council Bluffs, Iowa, because they and their parents oppose military drill. One member of the school board is reported to have had the effrontery to suggest that the boys be put to drilling with broomsticks. Religious groups of the state are planning to test this case in the courts, if persuasion fails.

Fifty-eight nations have agreed to renounce war methods. College boys in ever increasing numbers are doing their best to make this renunciation mean something. Every religious and civic group interested in peace should support them to the limit.

France and the Hope for Peace

In America we are little inclined to deal with the specific problems of world peace. Content to publish our desire for world accord in such general gestures as the Kellogg Pact, we find it difficult to follow the intricacies of international relationships. We are therefore of little service in working out the detailed problems of internationalism. The visit of Prime Minister Laval to America, which will take place after THE WORLD TOMORROW goes to press and before it reaches its readers, gives point to a particular problem about which America has shown little concern. We refer to the increasingly unqualified hegemony of France in European politics and the uncompromising manner in which she enforces her will upon the nations of Europe. We wonder whether the President and the internationally intelligent portion of the American electorate will offer any resistance to the growing peril of French politics to the peace of the world. We were given a taste of the French method last June when the intended benefits of the Hoover moratorium were practically dissipated by weeks of negotiation, necessitated by France's recalcitrance.

Since the close of the war the French have had but one idea to guide them in their international relations—the inviolate preservation of the Treaty of Versailles.

om the perspective of immediate national interests, their position was logical enough. They had defeated Germany in alliance with many other nations. And since they could not be certain of the support of these same nations in future ventures, it behooved them to hold fast to what they had won. Whatever concessions have been made in the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, whatever adjustments to the minimal necessities of an economically interdependent Europe, were made at the teeth of French opposition which knows so well how to negate general programs by a multitude of specific reservations. The French are always able to accept an international program "in principle" and then give it practically a new meaning and intent by the type of administrative application of a general rule upon which they insist. The administration of the Saar Valley through the League of Nations and more recently the administration of the Hoover moratorium are cases in point.

Since the beginning of the world depression, in the series of which France is not implicated, and since the flow of gold into French coffers, the position of France has become constantly more impregnable. She has delivered an ultimatum which throws the gravest doubts upon the possibilities of success for the impending disarmament conference. Her gold hoard has given her the power to prevent the Austro-German customs union and to check Italian freedom in challenging her vital standards. Briand's conception of a European customs union was but a thinly disguised effort to add another bulwark to his country's own position. English subservience to French policy, once due to post-war sentimentalities, has become an involuntary servitude. France dominated the recent meeting of the League of Nations and helped to reduce the moral prestige of the League to a new low level. Her agreement with Russia was made in defiance of Polish opposition and proves how completely France controls her satellites. The voice of Briand at the recent League meeting was not the voice of the Briand who strove sincerely for European conciliation; it was the voice of a pathetic old man who had been engulfed by the rising tide of nationalist feeling in France and who failed to assert any degree of spiritual independence over his new masters. In the important negotiations were not even in his hands. Observant as he is, the new France does not trust him. The question is whether America will be willing to enter European politics with sufficient force to check the growing power of France. If we do, we will be playing a dangerous game; if we fail to enter, we will not be able to escape the effects of the devil's brew which France is mixing for Europe and for the world. The most specific and immediate goal of French diplomacy will undoubtedly be to prevent the establishment of a five-year moratorium. France seems quite willing to let hell break loose in Germany and to take her

chances with the consequences—a short-sighted policy even from the perspective of purely French interests. If America does not achieve a higher degree of international sophistication than has characterized her conduct in the past, France will have her way until all Europe is undone and western civilization with it. That is the pressing problem which confronts our political thought and policy.

Synagogue and Church Awaken

Unmistakable signs are everywhere apparent that religious institutions are awakening to the significance of social problems—an awakening that is beginning to open their eyes to the perils inherent in contemporary economic and international situations. The gravity of the present crisis is driving religious leaders to a rigorous examination of the foundations of the existing social order, and is stimulating them to frame a severe indictment of many prevailing practices.

The Commission on Social Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis recently issued a message from which the following ringing words are taken:

We serve notice, in the name of the most priceless spiritual possession of man, the sanctity of the human soul, that religion has naught but bitter condemnation for any economic order which, like our present one, again and again places concern for property above concern for human life, and leaves millions of lives as wreckage in the mad scramble for material wealth. There is nothing sacred in the present order, and unless it can place itself more in accord with the fundamental principles of ethical conduct, we forecast for it that same inevitable and inexorable doom as did the great prophets of our people, in another day to another generation, blind and callous.

Similar passages may be found in the Labor Sunday Message of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and in the recent pronouncements of numerous other religious bodies. Increasingly drastic are the demands enunciated in these messages. The Federal Council of Churches, for example, declares:

It is essential that we should have a new concept of the position and needs of all the workers and producers in the modern world. Society now treats millions of them, in times of depression as if they were dependents, hangers-on, social liabilities. As a matter of fact, they are the very foundation of our economic structure. Justice, not charity, is the basic demand of the situation. That the worker is in theory entitled to a living wage is readily granted. But a living wage is generally conceived of as a sum that will purchase the necessities of life during the time that the producer is at work. We must extend the concept to cover all of a worker's life, including the two periods at the beginning and at the end—childhood and old age—when one cannot earn. This suggests an ample wage during employment, stabilization of employment, and adequate protection against interruptions in the opportunity to earn by methods which will preserve the initiative and independence of the worker but at the same time safeguard the family income by such provisions as workmen's

compensation, health insurance, unemployment insurance, maternity benefits, and old-age pensions.

The pronouncement of the Central Conference of American Rabbis likewise demands the inauguration of a system of unemployment insurance, with the comment: "Surely a sound and dignified program of unemployment insurance need not have to be urged as morally superior to the present disgraceful yet necessary make-shifts of alms and soup kitchens. We protect capital by dividend reserves. Is capital more sacred than human life?"

An increasing number of ministers and rabbis are becoming avowed Socialists. In New York City a group of clergymen and seminary students meets regularly as a fellowship of Socialist Christians for the mutual exploration of social problems. The active participation of ministers in strike situations is becoming more frequent. At least three clergymen have been put in jail during the past summer for activities in behalf of strikers—Allen Keedy, Arnold Johnson, and Bradford Young. Two other jail-birds of recent days, Norman Thomas and A. J. Muste, are also direct products of the church, both having at one time been active ministers.

Even more rapid progress is being made in the endeavor to arouse the churches to action against war. The resolutions of religious assemblies are more and more radical in their attitude toward war. The extreme pacifist position is being taken by a rapidly mounting number of clergymen and laymen, as was revealed in THE WORLD TOMORROW survey published in our May issue. The decision of the Supreme Court denying citizenship to Professor Macintosh and Miss Bland has been condemned by numerous religious bodies including the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Northern); the Northern Baptist Convention, and the General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches. Elsewhere in this issue we print a notable statement in this regard signed by forty-nine outstanding religious leaders.

Condemnation of compulsory military training is becoming customary in religious assemblies. Most of the national conventions of the Protestant churches have voiced their strong disapproval of training students in the science of human slaughter. One of the most recent decisions was that of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Southern) to abolish compulsory drill in church-controlled schools and colleges.

As one moves about the country and talks with religious leaders, he can scarcely fail to be impressed with their deeper interest and increased determination to do something adequate about social problems. It must be admitted, however, that the ignorance of the average pastor with regard to economic and international questions is still abysmal, and that caution and

timidity continue to characterize the actions of a great many religious leaders. The tides of economic revolution are moving swiftly and relentlessly, while the clouds in the international sky are black and ominous. Will the awakening of the synagogue and church occur in time?

Dramatizing Peace

Pictures talk in every tongue. They are understood by even those of limited education, and the message they convey is carried in the mind longer than material presented in any other form. Most important of all, they reach a larger number of people than is possible through such mediums as the printed page or the radio. Who of those who were alive during the years 1914-18 can forget the powerful appeal of the Liberty Loan, Red Cross, and other war-time posters?

Recognizing these facts and believing that visual education holds the key to the promotion of peace among that great mass of people who in the last analysis determine the policies which govern nations, a group of peace-minded men and women have recently organized World Peace Posters, Inc., "to promote peace but in no way for pecuniary profit." The object is to produce graphic material for the purpose of creating an intelligent opinion concerning the evils of war and the blessings of peace just as, during the war, posters were used to dramatize destructive conflict.

The new organization has already issued a poster on the World Court and a peace stamp which promises to have wide distribution. In addition, one of America's outstanding artists has been engaged to prepare a general peace poster which it is hoped will be as effective in its way as was the Red Cross poster, "The Greatest Mother of Them All." This will be followed by a series of posters showing the advantages of disarmament for all sections of the population—business, labor, farmers—in order that our delegates may attend the Geneva Disarmament Conference next February better instructed than they were at London in 1930. Other material will be synchronized with international issues as they arise, and posters suitable for Goodwill Sunday, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Armistice Day, Thanksgiving, and similar holidays will be available for use by schools, churches, clubs, social and civic organizations.

We welcome Peace Posters, Inc., into the ever-widening circle of peace workers and shall watch with interest its contribution to existing agencies which have peace and world-mindedness for their objective. The literature of the peace movement in this country needs re-vitalization and there is no more effective way of accomplishing that end than through posters and attractive publicity material in order that "he who runs may read."

the World Disarmament Conference Should Fail

W. HAMILTON FYFE

IF THE World Disarmament Conference should fail, most of us, unless death takes us quickly, would face the loss of all the qualities of civilized life which we most highly prize. There may be savages and aborigines who would not consciously suffer, but for the rest of us civilization would decline, probably quickly into ruins. Why? Because the present economic collapse would be enormously accelerated and because civilization depends on international confidence and that would be finally destroyed.

If the Geneva Disarmament Conference should fail, the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles would be morally disgraced because when they enforced upon the defeated nations a drastic limitation of armaments, they undertook themselves to formulate plans for the reduction of their own and other national armaments "to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." To this pledge there have been added in the thirteen intervening years many solemn assurances. Moreover, since this pledge and these assurances were given, 58 nations have sworn never to use war as an instrument of international policy or to seek a settlement of international disputes otherwise than by pacific means. So there would not even be any excuse for the treachery of their broken word.

Nor would that stand alone upon the account of moral issues. The realization that the criminal lunacy of competition in armaments could not be checked would loose all civilized nations bitter passions of civil disagreement, and it would at the same time intensify the force of international fear and suspicion. Suspicion and fear make men cruel and dishonest. We know that from hard experience. The failure of the conference would increase both internally and externally the virulence of these poisons with which our social systems are already overcharged that any increase must be fatal—fatal to the coherence of civilized life.

Progress and prosperity have already been disastrously arrested as the result of war. Peace and confidence are the only basis on which they could be rebuilt. The success of the conference would relay that basis. Its failure would destroy the last remnant of security.

THE moral effects of the failure of the conference would result in chaos. The economic effects would have the same result. The present world-wide depression, which has already brought us near to despair of our financial and commercial system, is the direct result of the war and of a peace treaty based on the

mentality of war. Of all the conditions precedent to recovery, disarmament is the first and the most important. Reduction of armaments on which the world now spends \$4,500,000,000 each year might reduce taxation, increase purchasing power, and raise the standard of living by something like ten per cent. If the hope of reduction is lost, ruin will result not only from the impossible burden of expenditure but more directly because the United States will not extend credit to Europe armed for war. And so close are the economic links between all civilized countries that the United States would be equally involved in that ruin.

Of the immediate evil results, if the Disarmament Conference should fail, the most obvious is war. And that war would come quickly there can be no doubt. The method of seeking to insure security by force is logically ludicrous, and its result is inevitable tragedy. The whole of history teaches that lesson. Nor is there any hope that war can be isolated. Most of the nations will fight and those who stand aside will equally be ruined. Perhaps there is even comfort in the thought that, if the conference should fail, war is certain to come quickly, for war would put us out of our misery.



Talbot in the N. Y. World-Telegram

The Breeding Place

The horror of the World War has never yet found adequate imaginative expression. But even that gloom of loss and suffering was lit with flashes of heroism and unconquerable courage. The next war, if we are determined to have one, would involve horrors unimaginable even by those who endured the last. It would be a war of gas and poison and germs with little opportunity for heroism. The destruction would be swift and universal. Not even politicians could escape. The legacy of the last war was loss, mutilation, bereavement, destitution; the legacy of the next war will be annihilation and a return to savagery for the few survivors.

THESE sentences may sound hectic and suggest exaggeration, but very little reflection will assure the most prejudiced and the least informed that they embody a sober estimate of the situation. The competition in armaments for a war which no sane human being desires is the greatest of all obstacles to peace, security, and prosperity. The outcry against that competition formerly came only from idealists who accepted the

truth of Christ's teaching. Now it comes with equal vigor from hard-bitten realists. No one with open eyes can deny the danger. Are we so muddled and rooted in old falsehoods that we cannot achieve what all desire? We shall not achieve it unless we insistently remind the members of the conference that we have votes and voices.

This is the plain man's campaign. It is up to us now. The call is to every single one of us to fight for security, for Christian principle, for common sense. There are millions of us still alive who answered the call in 1914-18 to enlist for war. And we know no other manner of prizes it brought us. The call to enlist for peace is just as urgent and demands equal qualities of courage and determination. It is a cause in which if we unite, victory is certain. Even if it were not, we would rather die defeated in that cause than perish ingloriously a little later from gas and poison and scattered germs. And that is the only alternative offered if we allow the Geneva Disarmament Conference to fail.

Why Disarmament?

KIRBY PAGE

ARMAMENTS are provocative. To say that they are a result and not a cause is only partially true. Armies and navies are maintained because of situations which cause alarm, but the presence of large bodies of armed troops intensifies suspicions, enmities, and fears across the border. Armaments are provocative because they cannot be maintained without preparedness campaigns in the various countries. Peoples will not endure the extra burdens of taxation unless they are afraid of what would happen if their country should fall behind in the race of armaments. Advocates of preparedness, therefore, find it necessary artificially to arouse suspicions of other nations. The press is enlisted and lurid pictures are presented of cities being destroyed by enemy airmen, chauvinistic articles are published designed to arouse passions, while orators go about the country making inflammatory addresses. The volume of preparedness activity is enormously increased by the presence of thousands of army and naval officers who become professional propagandists and who, through the press, platform and radio, are constantly stirring up suspicions of other governments.

Scholars now recognize that the race of armaments in Europe prior to 1914 was a primary cause of the World War. As the armaments were piled higher year by year, suspicions and fears mounted. Passions became more inflammatory and the political situation more ex-

plosive. Americans find it easy to recognize the menace to international peace inherent in the presence of a large and powerful body of military and naval officers. Japan, for example. To the degree that the militarist mind prevails in the diplomacy of Japan, relations with China, the United States, and other nations become tense and menacing. The activity of Japanese militarists is cited by American advocates of preparedness as proof of the validity of their contentions. Likewise every belligerent utterance or gesture by American militarists furnishes additional ammunition for preparedness campaigns in Japan. Armaments are a cause as well as a result.

Armaments tend to create a false sense of security. Peoples are told that if a nation is sufficiently well prepared no other country will dare to attack it. The obvious fallacy in this argument is that only one nation in the world could thus be safe. The policy of relying upon armaments of equal strength with a potential enemy leads to the balance of power system, and diplomacy is devoted to an endeavor to win new allies and to retain the loyalty of old ones. Many authorities are convinced that the system of armed alliances was the chief cause of the World War.

To build a nation's foreign policy upon armaments is to build upon a foundation of dynamite. The perpetuation of the war system will certainly lead to fu-

er armed conflicts. The record of history is unmistakably clear at this point. Armaments have never afforded a nation permanent security and are less able to do so now than at any time in the past. Distance being annihilated and the peoples of the earth are coming increasingly intertwined. The next war will be fought from the sky with chemicals and poison gas. Within another decade hundreds of thousands of airplanes will be flying over the earth. Vast quantities of deadly poisons will be available, and to rely upon armaments for security will be sheer lunacy.

Moreover, the deadliest destruction wrought by modern war is not upon the battlefield but in the dislocation of the world's system of production and distribution. In the event of another great war, more people will die of starvation, malnutrition, and disease than will be killed with the weapons of battle. Under such circumstances, the vast increase in human misery would certainly produce violent revolution in many regions. The consequent intensification of the class war would probably prove to be more devastating even than international war. For humanity to maintain, in the light of such a prospect, that security may be found in armaments is to dwell in a fool's paradise which will quickly be transformed into an inferno of madmen.

THE United States is in no danger of invasion and therefore does not need armaments to repel a hostile foe. That the United States would invade a disarmed England or Japan is such a remote possibility as not to be within the bounds of practical politics. Likewise, there is no evidence whatever that, if we adopted a friendly attitude toward other powers, dismantled our fleet, and demobilized our army, we would be overrun by enemies from abroad. We require a police force to deal with individual criminals and inflamed mobs, but we do not need an army or navy to protect us from invasion from Canada or Mexico or Japan or England or any other country.

It is highly inadvisable to use armaments in seeking to protect the lives and property of our citizens in other lands. The policy of armed intervention is ineffective and perilous. The argument that we need a big navy in order to protect our rights and interests in countries like China overlooks the fact that it is impossible to protect the lives and property of foreigners in such situations by armed force, except in a few seaports. Throughout nine-tenths of China's territory the effort to protect foreigners by armed intervention would so infuriate the Chinese as to increase enormously the destruction of life and property. Furthermore, the boycott destroys more property than bayonets can protect. The impotence of armed force is being revealed in all parts of the Far East.

The reliance upon a large navy to protect our rights in the high seas is a futile and expensive policy. We

were dragged into the World War against our wishes because of the doctrine that our rights as neutrals must be safeguarded even if necessary by taking belligerent action. If we had followed the suggestion of Secretary Bryan, that our citizens be warned that if they went into the war zone they must go at their own risk and that our Government would not take armed action in their defense, we could have stayed out of the World War. In that event some of our citizens would doubtless have been killed and some millions of dollars in property would have been destroyed. Because we sought to protect life and property by war, however, upwards of a hundred thousand American soldiers were slaughtered and the costs of the war to the people of this country will eventually, according to an estimate by Calvin Coolidge, reach 100 billion dollars.

THE argument is often used that the cost of armed preparedness is only the premium on a national insurance policy. This idea becomes less intriguing when the situation is examined realistically. The United States is now spending about 700 million dollars annually on the current expenses of the army and navy. That is to say, the premium on our insurance policy is costing us seven billion dollars per decade. Is there a sane man who would maintain that, if we should disarm, our property to the value of seven billions would be destroyed every ten years? Expenditure for armaments is not only pouring money down a bottomless hole, but every dollar expended in this way actually increases our peril.

There are hundreds of crying needs for the funds now being squandered upon provocative armaments. Seven billion dollars a decade would make available a national revolving fund for a system of unemployment and other forms of social insurance. This amount used as a subsidy for a national housing scheme would wipe out all the slums of the land. With its equivalent an educational institution costing a million dollars could be erected in 700 communities every year, or 7,000 within a decade. Even a fraction of this sum put at the disposal of a National Peace Department, with a Secretary of Peace as a Cabinet member, would finance an effective campaign of international education—than which nothing is so greatly needed in this country.

Armaments, moreover, are entirely unnecessary. No conceivable quarrel could arise with another nation which cannot be settled more effectively and economically by peaceful methods than by mass murder on the battlefield. The idea that a nation must go to war in defense of its "honor" is as fallacious and dangerous as the ancient concept that an individual must fight a duel in defense of his "honor." Controversies over economic and financial interests cannot be settled equitably by resort to arms.

IF THE peoples of the earth were not so blinded with fear and so obsessed with tradition, they would recognize the futility and menace of the war system and would proceed with speed and thoroughness to create and strengthen a peace system. Security and justice have always depended upon a triple social organization: a method of reaching agreements, an agency to administer agreements after they are formulated, and an institution to interpret the meaning of these agreements. That is to say, legislation, administration, and adjudication have always been essential to the preservation of peace. Fortunately, the need for these aspects of international organization is rapidly becoming apparent. The nations are now bound together with a network of conciliation and arbitration treaties, devices for reaching agreements concerning controversial issues. Most of the nations are members of the League, with its machinery for calling conferences and formulating agreements through the Assembly, Council, commissions, committees, and special gatherings. The Secretariat of the League acts as the nucleus of the imperatively needed international civil service, while the World Court is available to interpret the meaning of international agreements. Even at this stage, the peace

system affords far more security and justice than does reliance upon the war system.

Dependence upon armaments not only tends to create a false sense of security, but it thereby hinders the task of strengthening the machinery of peace. If the people of the United States were not deluded into believing that they can find safety in an army and navy, they would be far more concerned about our entrance into the World Court and the League of Nations. Moreover, they would demand a friendlier and more constructive policy toward other nations. Such blunders as the manner in which Japanese immigrants are excluded would be avoided and more sensitiveness would be manifested toward other peoples' feelings and interests.

Why disarmament? Because armaments are highly provocative; they tend to create a false sense of security; the United States is in no danger of invasion; the practice of using armaments in seeking to protect the lives and property of our citizens in other lands is inadvisable and perilous; and the resort to mass slaughter is wholly unnecessary since the pacific methods of conciliation, arbitration, conference, and judicial settlement are available. Further reliance upon the war system is stupid and suicidal.

How To Disarm

LAURA PUFFER MORGAN

WITHIN a few months the first World Disarmament Conference will be held in Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations after five years of definite preparatory work. At that time will come the first real test of the method of disarmament by international agreement. Will the conference succeed in bringing about disarmament? If so, how? What are the necessary conditions for its success?

Obviously, if we interpret the word *disarmament* literally, one can expect no such result from this conference that meets next February; but if we use it in the sense that has come to be accepted—the progressive reduction and limitation of armaments—there is every reason to hope that an all-important step in this direction may be taken to insure the continuation of the process.

As these words are written, the proposal for a truce in armaments until the conclusion of the conference, made originally by Grandi, the Italian foreign minister, has just been referred for consideration to the disarmament committee of the Assembly. If this proposal should be adopted by the League and accepted by all the Powers, it would help enormously to create a favorable atmosphere for the opening of the conference and

improve its chances for success. But this proposal for a mere limitation of armaments at the *status quo* can only be regarded as a transitional measure of limited duration, as was pointed out by Dr. Curtius, the German foreign minister. The essential prerequisite for the success of the conference is an appreciable and effective reduction of armaments.

By what means can this reduction be brought about? The draft convention drawn up by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission as a basis for discussion at the conference, with a few essential modifications provides the framework for a satisfactory disarmament treaty. It classifies armaments, determines the method of limitation and, most important of all, provides the machinery for the continuation of the process of reduction through subsequent conferences by means of a Permanent Disarmament Commission. The conference itself will have to determine the amount of reduction by filling in the figures.

The chief weakness of the draft convention is its failure to provide for the direct limitation of the weapons of land warfare. This omission will have to be rectified if the final convention is to be acceptable to Germany. The Versailles Treaty prohibited for

Germany tanks, heavy artillery, warships of over 10,000 tons, military aircraft, and submarines. The German demands for equality need not be interpreted literally as necessitating the immediate and total elimination of all these instruments of war, but they cannot remain untouched. It is generally believed that a substantial reduction in these armaments would be of sufficient importance to Germany to enable her government to compromise on the other points in which it has found the draft convention inadequate.

THE question of the limitation of aircraft is the most difficult one that will come before the conference. The provisions for limitation in the draft convention are admittedly weak. Yet, if aircraft remains unlimited, competition is simply transferred to the air, and all the measures of disarmament become futile. The difficulty lies, of course, in the ease with which commercial aircraft can be converted to military uses. Yet no one wishes to retard the development of civil aviation.

To meet this situation, within the last few months a proposal has been gaining ground for the complete elimination of all military and naval aircraft and the internationalization of civil aviation. The first popular expression of this proposal seems to have been made at the meeting of the Federation of the League of Nations Societies held at Budapest in May. Other bodies have taken it up. In July at a meeting in Paris, preliminary to a big public demonstration to be held in November, a similar resolution was adopted which will be submitted for action to hundreds of organizations invited to take part in the demonstration. Salvador de Madariaga, now ambassador from Spain to the United States, and also a delegate to the 1931 Assembly of the League of Nations, voiced this proposal from the Assembly platform. It has been warmly espoused by Lord Cecil, and there is very good reason to believe that the British and the French governments are sympathetic to the proposal.

But with all these signs of progress and the possibilities inherent in the draft convention, if the delegations go to Geneva in February, 1932, as they went to London in 1930, jockeying for place and haggling over guns and tanks, the conference is doomed to failure from the start. Its success would be assured, on the other hand, if some one of the great Powers gave it a lead with a constructive proposal of reduction based on the spirit of the Kellogg Pact, just as the Hughes proposal in 1921 forced the Washington Conference to a successful conclusion. Many of the smaller nations are standing ready to fall into line. They only await a leader. The internal difficulties of the British Empire seem for the moment to have deprived that country of the position of leadership which has been tacitly accorded her. It is even unlikely that Mr. Arthur Henderson will be able to retain the presidency of the conference to which

he was elected. But public opinion in England is aroused to such an enthusiasm for disarmament that it would force any government that might be in power to follow the lead of the United States. It is clear, then, that the United States, if it accepts the leadership to which its world position entitles it, has the power to make or mar the conference.

A LONG what lines should this leadership be exercised? Are there any points with regard to which the United States has a peculiar responsibility or on which its position will be decisive? To ask the question is to answer it. I suggest at least five points which come under this category.

If the United States refuses to accept the principles of budgetary limitation, we may destroy the only chance of actual reduction that the conference has. On the other hand, if we accept the responsibility of leadership and combine budgetary limitation with our demand for direct limitation, we shall be helping the conference to take a long step toward real disarmament.

We hold the key to the possibility of any further reduction in the navies of the great Powers before 1935. The British government is ready and eager to reopen the naval question. Ours is the only government insisting upon great battleships of 35,000 tons. No doubt smaller ships serve better the purposes of other governments, but if we should propose to abolish them altogether, we would cut the Gordian knot. The United States already leads the world in aircraft for military purposes, according to the reports made by the various governments to the League of Nations. This aircraft is not yet a menace to European countries, in the present stage of development, but our voice would necessarily be listened to in determining world policy for this weapon of greatest potential destructiveness.

In spite of our initiative at the Washington Conference and later in Geneva, the Protocol prohibiting chemical and bacteriological warfare remains unratified, while our experiments in Edgewood Arsenal are being watched with fear and suspicion the world over. There is little doubt of the instant response that would follow a move on our part not merely against the use of gas in war, but against its preparation—a prohibition already shown to be practical in the case of Germany.

Finally, if we would agree only to consult with the other Powers in case of a threatened violation of the Kellogg Pact, the demand of France for more security might be met and a deadlock of the conference be averted.

I shall not attempt to discuss any of these points in detail with the one exception of budgetary limitation. Agreement on this point may mean the difference between success or failure of the conference. President Hoover, in his speech before the International Chamber of Commerce in May, pointed to the vast amounts being spent

for armaments all over the world and to the necessity for drastic reduction in these expenditures for the economic rehabilitation of the world and the restoration of international confidence; but no official statement has yet been made that the United States Government would be willing to accept for itself the principle of measuring armaments by expenditures, which our delegates to the Preparatory Commission have said that we were unable to do, in advance of any detailed plans.

IT IS believed in Geneva that this method of cost accounting is the essential basis of any disarmament system and is therefore vital to the success of the conference. It is the only method which will reach certain types of armaments. It is the only method which received a majority vote—as applied to land weapons—at the Preparatory Commission, and yet the United States delegation was the only one which refused unconditionally to accept it. The position of the United States will be decisive, since if we refuse to limit our expenditures, especially on our navy, Britain and Japan have already indicated that they will find it impossible to limit theirs.

The London Treaty limited our total tonnage and

even reduced it slightly. But it allowed replacement of vessels after they became of age. If we carry out all this replacement plan within the life of the treaty and build the five new cruisers and aircraft carriers allowed, we shall have to spend \$1,200,000,000 in five years, or \$240,000,000 a year for construction alone, instead of approximately \$40,000,000 which has been our average for the last ten years. After the ships are built, it will cost \$500,000,000 a year to keep the navy up instead of the \$300,000,000 or so which now serves that purpose. And all this cost is added without increasing our total tonnage over the London figures by as much as a single ton! Is it any wonder that the people are asking for a financial as well as a direct limitation of navies?

We are told that the State Department, is studying this question with an open mind. National interest, expressed in terms of army and navy prestige, would work against the acceptance of the system. On the other side is the demand of the people for relief from taxes, the fate of the conference, and all the considerations of world peace. This at least is one great contribution that the United States can make to the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

The Two Roads to Disarmament

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

THERE are two suggested methods of achieving disarmament. One is gun-for-gun reduction, a mathematical scaling down of existing forces and equipment. The other is the creation of definite machinery for ordered peace, as a result of which armaments fall because the reasons that led to them have ceased to exist. The first method is dramatic, negative, and narrow. It leaves untouched basic suspicions between nations. It provides no technique for the settlement of disputes. It does not interest itself in the causes which lead nations to wage war. It proceeds on the questionable thesis that if you substitute pistols for rifles, or black-jacks for machine guns, men will not fight.

The second method is infinitely more difficult, far less dramatic, and promises no quick results. On the other hand it is sounder, more positive and more permanent. It looks to the future rather than to the present. It is concerned with concrete substitutes for war as a method of settling international difficulties. It seeks to lessen friction between countries, to ease tension, to probe the economic and social rivalries that tempt nations to war-like preparations. It believes that men will stop fighting only when they are convinced that there are more effective methods of settling their disputes.

For that reason this second method concerns itself with a Court of International Justice. It builds a League of Nations. It creates a General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. It develops an Optional Clause to further the work of the Court. Its whole emphasis is on the creation of institutions that will represent the collective judgments of the whole world.

IT IS a pity that the United States should neglect the second and better method of disarmament and concentrate its attentions upon the first. This lack of perspective, this national astigmatism, will not easily be understood by the historians of the future. If a decade ago we had thrown the weight of our prestige and power wholeheartedly behind the collective principle, we should doubtless be far nearer the real goal of disarmament than we are today or are likely to be as a result of the forthcoming conference. Certainly a better and more permanent basis for peace could have been laid during these last ten years if our strength had been added to the strength of fifty-four other nations.

I have no hope that the mechanical method of disarmament will stop war. If the causes of war are not removed, or at least minimized, and if in the meantime

we develop no acceptable institutions to which resort can be had in time of friction, nations will fight with whatever weapons they have at hand. Under such circumstances to scale down from twelve-inch guns to eight-inch guns, or to impose a ten per cent or a twenty per cent cut in army personnel, is to dodge the very essence of the problem. Indeed such a solution is infinitely dangerous. It lulls us into a sense of security. We are led to believe that we have done something significant to make the future safe. The dynamite is still in the box, but we feel secure because we have painted out the danger sign on the cover.

Unfortunately public opinion in this country at the present time, due to the lead given by President Hoover, seems to be unaware of the clash that is coming at Geneva over the divergence of these two approaches to disarmament. Our delegates are apparently going to the conference determined that political questions shall not under any circumstances be discussed. It is to be purely a mathematical conference, a search for a precise arithmetical formula, a swapping of tons for tons and guns for guns. It is to be predominantly a land-disarmament affair in which our main role will be the part of a kindly, disinterested friend. We shall doubtless be prepared, as an amiable gesture, to cut off a few tons here and perhaps dispense with a few cruisers there. Possibly this example will influence the French to scale down their forces on the basis of some acceptable percentage; perhaps the Italians will fall into line. We are looking to the economic depression to help in the argument. But of political commitments there must be none that will bind us—no guaranties in regard to our future policy, no deviation from the doctrine laid down by President Hoover in his Armistice Day Address of 1930: "We believe that our contribution can best be made in these emergencies, when nations fail to keep their undertakings of pacific settlement of disputes, by our good offices and helpfulness free from any advance commitment or entanglement as to the character of our action."

On this line the American delegates will dig themselves in—unless in the meantime public opinion is aroused to blast them out. But unless it is so aroused, the conference at best can accomplish little that is genuinely significant in this matter of disarmament. There will be misunderstanding and disillusionment, and the American people will once more be confirmed in their own virtue and in the easy belief that other nations are degenerate.

LET us make no mistake about the matter: political participation on our part in the collective organization of the world is absolutely essential if this disarmament conference, or its successor, is going to accomplish anything worth while. There is far more in the French argument for security than we in this country

are inclined to believe. However exaggerated French fears of aggression may be, however unwise may seem the various steps that France has taken to protect herself against anticipated danger, the fact remains that no nation—whether it be France or Italy or England or the United States—is going to take this disarmament business very seriously until there is bred into the world a sense of international solidarity in the face of common peril. Such a sense of solidarity can come only through organization, through definite commitments, through the creation of institutions to guard the public peace. To try to run the world on any other basis is as hopeless as would have been the task in 1787 of attempting to manage the thirteen colonies without a Supreme Court or a Congress.

If the American people are really in earnest about this matter of disarmament, if they sincerely desire a warless world, they must wake up to the fact that there is a price to be paid. And it is not a cheap price. It means active, eager, official participation on our part in all the agencies that have thus far been set up, and that will be set up in the future, to promote international understanding and maintain peace. It means membership in the League of Nations; it means the World Court; it means the Optional Clause; it means the International Labor Office; it means the General Act. It means, too, imagination on our part in suggesting improvements in the existing machinery—a willingness to lead the way in the search for better and more effective international institutions.

THIS is the price of disarmament, and there are no bargain days on which it can be had at a cheaper rate. We may succeed in lopping off a few figures at the top of specific categories of arms. We may subtract a few machine guns here and a few regiments there. But unless our delegates at the Geneva Conference are prepared at least to make a beginning in the way of political commitments, unless President Hoover is now ready to lead the fight in the Senate and before the country which these commitments will involve, then the total results are bound to be petty and insignificant; and we shall doubtless come back from Geneva with something of that same feeling of bewilderment that followed the London Naval Conference when we discovered that, after months of negotiation on questions which we thought had to do with disarmament, the new treaty gave us far more tonnage than we ever before possessed.

In brief, there is no quick and easy road to disarmament. It will not be accomplished by the legerdmain of any mathematical formula. In the long run, it will be the result, the slow result, of the patient building up of new international institutions and the development on the part of all nations of a new sense of human solidarity.

Economic and Psychological Release for Germany

SIDNEY B. FAY

ECONOMIC and psychological release for Germany would cut the ground from under the dangerous extremist parties at home (Communists, Nationalists, and Hitlerites), and would relieve the tension with France abroad. It would make relatively easy the problem of disarmament, for France's fears for her own security and that of her satellites on Germany's eastern frontier are among the greatest obstacles toward achieving that reduction in armaments contemplated in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

It is a simple matter to state what would bring economic and psychological release to the chief nation vanquished in the World War, but it is not so easy to explain politically practicable solutions by which this release might be brought about. The difficulties to be overcome are numerous and complex. Let us begin with the reparations question.

The most recent international survey of Germany's economic needs is the report of the Wiggin Committee, appointed by the Bank of International Settlements, to make recommendations concerning Germany's financial difficulties. This Report states that "Germany plays so important a role in the economic life of the world, and in particular that of Europe, that until the situation in Germany improves there can be no general recovery from the existing state of depression." Referring to Germany's obligations to pay reparations as well as interest on the money she has borrowed abroad, the Report adds, "So long as these obligations, both public and private, are such as to involve either a continuous increase in snowball fashion of the foreign debt of Germany or alternatively a disproportion between her imports and exports on such a scale as to threaten the economic prosperity of other countries, the investor is unlikely to regard the situation as stable or permanent. . . In recent years the world has been endeavoring to pursue two contradictory policies in permitting the development of an international financial system which involves the annual payment of large sums by debtor to creditor countries [reparations and inter-ally debts], while at the same time putting obstacles [tariffs] in the way of the free movement of goods."

THERE are three possible ways out of the international debt morass. We will begin with the most desirable, and hope that the world will be spared the spectacle of the less desirable or the least desirable.

The first way out is the voluntary and speedy cancellation by the United States of the inter-ally debts owing to her. There is no space here to enter into all

the familiar arguments in favor of or against such cancellation. The best psychological moment for such a cancellation was at the time of the Balfour proposal in 1922; but we let the golden moment slip by, largely owing to Mr. Hoover's Toledo speech in which he emphasized the sanctity of international obligations and prophesied the speedy economic recovery of Europe. Mr. Hoover now has the opportunity to retrieve that mistake, in part at any rate, and probably to secure his own re-election. Nothing will so much increase his chances for the latter as a recovery from the present economic depression, and nothing would contribute more effectively to this recovery, as the Wiggin Report implies, than putting an end to these impossibly large annual payments by debtor to creditor countries. It may be objected that cancellation will raise taxes, and that an increase of taxes will militate against Hoover's prospects. True, taxes would have to be increased. But it is probable that the economic recovery which would follow cancellation would more than offset the burden of increased taxes. Moreover, voluntary and speedy cancellation of war debts by the United States is less likely to jeopardize the President's re-election than the two other less desirable ways out of the morass to be mentioned below.

To be sure, no legal cancellation can take place until Congress meets and ratifies the moratorium arrangement which President Hoover so wisely initiated last June. Meanwhile sentiment can be developed in favor of such cancellation. Already it is remarkable to what extent public opinion on this subject has changed during the past six months. Not only men like President Butler, William Green, and a great many New York bankers, but also some of the most influential newspapers are saying that it will never be possible for Germany to pay the full reparations under the Young Plan at the end of the Hoover moratorium, and that consequently England and France and the other countries which depend on reparations in order to pay us will be unable to meet their obligations to the United States. If we cancel the inter-ally debts which European countries owe us, these nations can easily forego the two-thirds of reparation payments which they receive from Germany and practically hand over to the United States. Germany would still have to pay the one-third which corresponds to the non-postponable part of the annuities under the Young Plan—an amount equivalent to about 700 million marks [\$168,000,000], for thirty-seven years—and would probably be capable of doing so. France will never consent to a reduction of her share of

his non-postponable part of reparations, which is designed to reimburse her in part for what she has spent in restoring her ruined areas. Germany would also, of course, pay the interest and principal of the bonds issued under the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan, as these bonds have largely passed into the hands of private individuals.

Thus, by the generous gesture or voluntary cancellation, the United States could wipe off the slate the greater part of the folly of impossibly huge payments from debtor to creditor countries. President Hoover might well take a step in this direction by calling another international conference, or by taking advantage of Premier Laval's approaching visit to Washington to secure French assent to it.

IF THE United States does not take the initiative in cancellation, a second and less desirable way out of the international debt morass would be a voluntary agreement between France, England, Italy, and the other countries owing government war debts to us on one side and Germany on the other to repudiate both the inter-ally debts to the United States and two-thirds of the reparation payments under the Young Plan. A year ago France, England, and the other countries would not have consented to any such repudiation. It would have dealt too great a blow to their prestige and international credit. And why should they take such a step, when their payments to the United States cost them nothing, since they were simply handing over to Uncle Sam part of what they were receiving from Germany? But today, when it is evident to every serious student, as a result of the recent financial crises in Germany and England and the economic depression throughout the world, that Germany cannot pay the full annuities under the Young Plan, these countries would be more ready to take the serious step of repudiation. It would free them from the heavy financial burden otherwise devolving upon them when Germany no longer supplies the means for their "out-payments." Such a solution will still necessitate Germany's paying the non-postponable third of reparations, and she may object to this. But as has been previously indicated, she must make up her mind to it, since it is certain that otherwise France will rigidly oppose any permanent revision of the Young Plan.

To be sure, France may object to such a repudiation agreement with Germany. In that case, there is nothing left but the third and least desirable solution: action by Germany alone, either to secure temporary relief through the declaration of the two-year moratorium on two-thirds of the reparations as permitted under the Young Plan, or through the more radical move of repudiating forever two-thirds or even all of the Young Plan annuities. Such action would give France the legal right to cease payment of her war debt to the United

States, for the Mellon-Berenger debt-funding agreement of 1926 contained a canny clause expressly to this effect. France would undoubtedly take advantage of this clause, especially in view of her increasingly unfavorable trade balance. Germany's repudiation might also be regarded by England and Italy and other debtor nations as giving them moral sanction to follow France's example in ceasing to make payments to the United States.

THE second or the third way out of the debt morass just suggested would no doubt cause an outcry in this country. It would leave us and Mr. Hoover no better off than if we voluntarily conceded cancellation. We should not be getting our debt payments and we should, as has been pointed out, have to resort to increased taxes. Is it not better, therefore, for us to make a sacrifice at once and gracefully, thus winning praise for our generosity and earning the reputation of Uncle Sam instead of Uncle Shylock?

When Germany is permanently relieved of two-thirds of the present reparations obligations, and when France is permanently assured of her share of the other third, one of the greatest stumbling blocks to better relations between the two countries will have been removed. The atmosphere must be cleared if we hope for success in the matter of reduction of armaments. Germany feels that France and the League of Nations have not lived up to the promises held out in 1919, and France still suffers from the psychological effect of two invasions within half a century. This problem, however, we pass by, since it is being dealt with effectively by other writers in these pages.

Another subject on which Germans feel resentment is the French financial pressure which forced Austria to abandon the proposal for an Austro-German free-trade agreement. Now that the World Court has also declared the proposal incompatible with the obligations Austria assumed in connection with the loan of 1922, the best thing to strive for is a general European agreement for lowering the tariff walls which hinder general economic recovery and which are so much higher and more numerous than before the war.

FINALLY, there are the clauses in the Treaty of Versailles which Germany would like to see revised. Article 231, making Germany and her allies solely responsible for the war, is regarded by virtually all Germans as historically unsound and morally monstrous. As to her former colonies, Germany would like to be given the mandate over some of them, though so long as she remains a member of the League of Nations she has an opportunity of looking out for the welfare of those Germans who are now under mandates entrusted to other Powers. The transfer to France of the Saar coal mines has lost much of its original justification, now

that the French have so completely restored the damaged coal mines in the northeastern part of their own country. As the plebiscite to be held in the Saar region in 1935 is almost certain to go in favor of Germany, it is highly desirable that Franco-German negotiations for a settlement of this question before 1935 should be resumed. Most difficult of all are the problems of Danzig, Memel, and the Polish Corridor. Germans are unwilling to make an "Eastern Locarno" which would give

the stamp of finality to present conditions there. There are no solutions which do not raise almost insuperable difficulties. All these revisionist questions must therefore be adjourned until further progress has been made toward a Franco-German rapprochement by establishing a joint commission to deal with economic matters, by getting the reparations and debt questions out of the way, and by making some advance, if only a little, at the Geneva Disarmament Conference next February.

Making Peace With Russia

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE peace of the world is imperiled by more than one contemporary problem the solution of which seems to be beyond the capacity of statesmen and the imagination of peoples. Of these, the question of achieving and maintaining amicable relations between Russia and the other nations of the world is probably the most important. The difficulty of this problem arises from three factors. First of all, the Russian experiment is a bold departure from the generally accepted political and social organization of the rest of the world, and it therefore aggravates the prejudices which characterize international relationships even when common political convictions and similar economic customs give the nations a bond of unity. In the second place, Russia is disturbing international equilibrium by her expanding economy and her increased ability to export goods in a world already glutted with both raw materials and manufactured products. Whether Russia's export policy is governed merely by the necessities of her industrialization program, or is partially prompted by a desire to embarrass the capitalistic nations and render the rehabilitation of their shattered economic structure more difficult, it is bound to arouse the fears and excite the animosities of people who might not be disturbed by the boldness of the Soviet experiment, conducted on and confined to Russian soil. Finally, the fanatic devotion of the communists to their cause, coupled with their unshaken conviction that the world is plotting the destruction of their state, creates a combination of aggressive zeal and defensive valor which might easily issue in a situation reminiscent of the Napoleonic venture and the ensuing wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

As in all international situations, there is a tendency on both sides for the factors that make for war to aggravate each other. Russian fanaticism creates suspicion and hatred in the rest of the world, and these emotions clothe themselves in national policies which seem to justify and certainly accentuate the fear and the expectation of war on the part of the Russians. Mutual

fear and hatred of this sort between Germany and the Allies made the World War inevitable. It is not easy to escape from such a vicious circle until it has borne its inevitable and logical fruit. We can do so only by honestly and dispassionately checking our own fears and prejudices and by seeking to understand those of the other side.

IF WE begin by trying to understand Russia, we can not escape the conclusion that, however powerful may be the temptation to a military coup in decades to come, the present complete preoccupation with her industrialization program makes such a venture in any near future unthinkable. A war would spell the defeat of everything which fires the ambitions of the Russian people. Even the desire to spread revolution in other countries is checked by the hope of justifying communism first of all by a successful program at home. In this respect the present communist policy is an almost complete reversal of the original idea that communism in Russia could not succeed except a world revolution came to its aid. Soviet leaders still believe in the inevitability of such a revolution, but they are more than ever prepared to let history take its course, meanwhile building their foundations securely in Russia. The complete ascendancy of Stalin over firebrands like Zinoviev is adequate proof of the predominantly nationalistic and economic character of the policy that at present prevails in Moscow.

Lack of aggressive intent does not, of course, prove any want of a military spirit. Modern Russia is undoubtedly militaristic, for communism knows nothing of pacifist ideals. It is building tremendous defensive weapons as protection against the fancied or real peril of the capitalistic conspirators, and it is quite possible that situations may arise in which the line between a defensive and an aggressive war will be as difficult to define as in all former cases. Nevertheless, it is clear that the martial spirit is fed by a fear psychosis and that it can best be overcome by removing its seeming or real justifica-

ns. This brings us to a consideration of our own problems.

Forces are still at work in the western world which would like to throttle the communist baby in its cradle, that term has not become incongruous for so lusty youngster. Men of the type of Sir Henry Detering and Winston Churchill, as well as certain French and Polish conspirators, would without a question destroy communism by a militaristic venture if they could. But it is doubtful whether they possess the influence attributed to them by people in Russia. Ridiculous stories appearing in the Russian press about the policy of the American Farm Board being dictated by President Hoover's desire to be helpful in an interventionist plot show how far beyond the real facts a fear-diseased imagination may go. Yet there are very real forces desiring the overthrow of communism by military power, and any support which they may be able to enlist in popular opinion will complicate the problem of peace with Russia by just so much.

On the whole, the capitalistic world is probably just as certain that the way to avoid the communist peril is by putting its own house in order as the communist world is anxious to prove the merits of communistic social organization by succeeding in Russia. Perhaps the excessive fears of Russia, which do not do full justice to the common sense of other nations, however limited that may be, are partially the result of the propaganda of the Russian press. And that propaganda is inspired not so much by foreign policy as by the hope of adding fear to other potent emotions in whipping through the five Year Plan. If we could eliminate the fear factor, the whole Russian experiment would redound to the benefit of all men. While only fanatics can expect one type of social organization to become universal without modification, there is in communism an obvious challenge to the capitalistic system. If communism and capitalism were to compete with each other for the loyalty of peoples on the basis of their actual contribution to human welfare, we may be sure that communism would help to hasten the socialization of industrial life everywhere and that, emancipated of undue fears and hatreds, Russia would incorporate certain values of western civilization into its own system. In fellowship we learn from one another, while in conflict we accentuate each other's vices.

ALL this does not, of course, cover what is perhaps the most dangerous in our relations with Russia—the expanding Russian economy and the animosities created by the dislocation of trade resulting from heavy Russian exports. What complicates this factor is that Russian exports are bound to be predominantly agricultural for some time to come, and thus to threaten that portion of our population already most seriously affected by general conditions—namely, the farmers. The

charge of Russian dumping will be an easy way of escape for every cheap politician who lacks the intelligence or the desire to bring the farmer into the circle of decent reciprocity in our economic life. Undoubtedly the return of Russian goods to world markets (it must be remembered that in the case of wheat, at least, it is merely a return) does require some radical adjustments in the economic life of western nations. Yet the danger is not as great as is sometimes imagined. Stalin's recent promise that bread consumption would be materially increased next year is a straw which shows how the wind will inevitably blow in Russia—in the direction of rising living standards. This means comparatively fewer exports of raw materials and more imports of manufactured goods. If the western nations still find the rate of Russian export dangerous, they have an easy expedient for reducing it and that is by offering credit. The supposed malice of the Russians in dumping goods is usually nothing more than a frantic desire for cash with which to buy the machinery necessary for their rapidly increasing program of industrial development.

WHILE the Russian people will in all likelihood be called upon to make great sacrifices for years to come in the interest of their industrialization program, it will obviously be impossible to maintain their morale without offering them each year some slight increase in living standards, at least as an earnest of the hope of that better world which is the driving force of their whole enterprise. When the unbelievably low living standards of the country are taken into consideration, it will readily be seen that Russian industry alone can not supply what the people need and want. More and more they will be drawn into reciprocal trade relations with the rest of the world, provided we can reduce to a minimum the fears and the prejudices which the nature of their experiment and the necessities of their present economic program arouse.

The problems of international relations reduce themselves, in spite of seeming complexities, to simple human dimensions. Fear produces fear and goodwill creates goodwill. Even though the promises of a Russian government, in the event of recognition should not bind the Comintern, the international missionary organization of the communist party, we have everything to gain and nothing to lose by drawing Russia more and more into the circle of mutual relations both politically and economically. By their own confession, their agitators can be dangerous to us only if our social and political organization is such that it invites revolutionary change. Ultimately, it is clear that our best chance of avoiding either revolution or war is by taking counsel of our prudence and our goodwill and not of our fears and animosities.

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

Appeal for Exemption

The Southern California Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has memorialized the General Conference which convenes in Atlantic City next May to petition the United States Government to grant exemption from military service to Methodist citizens who hold conscientious scruples against participation in war.

Another Liberal Legion Post

Whole-hearted endorsement of President Hoover "in his efforts for general world disarmament" was voted at a recent meeting of the Berkeley, California, Post Number Seven of the American Legion.

Escaping the Bread Line

During the first six months of the New York Old Age Security Law, 38,400 indigent aged were pensioned, the average pension being \$27.21 monthly.

Denied Citizenship

A California judge has denied naturalization to Jakob Hullen, a Santa Rosa poultryman, on the ground that the latter is "not attached to the principles of the Constitution," because he asserted his belief in governmental ownership of public utilities. The case is being appealed.

100,000 Political Prisoners

The International Committee for Political Prisoners reports that at least 100,000 persons are now in prison throughout the earth for political expressions and actions which are regarded as dangerous by existing authorities.

The Color Line Again

Because of race discrimination practiced by the Boy Scouts of Philadelphia, colored boys have withdrawn from the organization. Colored scouts were barred from Treasure Island, the Philadelphia scout camp, and when a new camping ground of 6,000 adjoining acres was acquired, admission was refused to colored scouts. The latter have now joined the Society of Lynx, which they declare is free from racial discrimination.

The Sacredness of Property

The degree of mania expressed in stock speculation is revealed in the following contrast of prices at the peak of the year 1929 and on September 19, 1931: American Telephone and Telegraph 310 and 140; Bethlehem Steel 140 and 33; J. I. Case Co. 509 and 44; Chrysler Corporation 135 and 15; International Harvester 142 and 29; Montgomery Ward 156 and 13; Stone & Webster 201 and 19; U. S. Steel new 261 and 75.

The Dole in New York

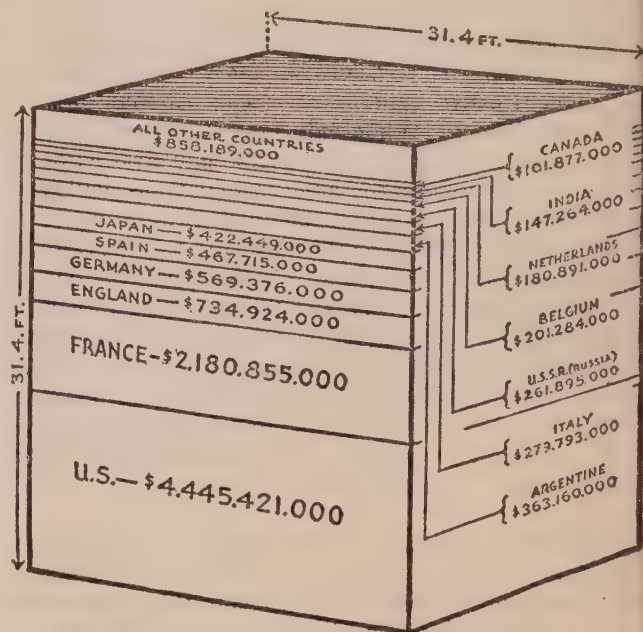
According to the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee three-quarters of a million persons are vainly seeking employment in New York City, of whom 160,000 require public assistance if they are to survive through the winter.

When Winter Comes

June is usually the best month for employment, yet during the past June there were 2,736,000 jobless in Great Britain, and 3,954,000 in Germany. February is the worst month and is certain to register a substantial increase in these figures.

2.53 Per Cent Pay 92 Per Cent

The inequitable distribution of income was emphasized when United States Treasury officials disclosed that, in 1929, 92 per cent of the total income tax was paid by less than three per cent of those who filed returns. Out of some 70 million adults, only 4,034,702 filed returns. Of the 991 million dollars paid in income taxes, 917 millions came from the 102,045 persons whose income exceeded \$25,000, whereas the three million whose incomes were under \$5,000 paid only \$4,500,000.



From *The Magazine of Wall Street*

All the Gold in the World

All the monetary gold in the world could be fused into a cube 31.4 feet on a side, weighing 18,600 tons and worth \$11,215,033,000. The figures showing the proportionate shares of gold held by the leading countries are from the July report of the Federal Reserve Board. Holdings of France and the United States have since increased.

Machine Efficiency

Machine guns firing 700 shots per minute and armored cars speeding across plowed fields at fifty miles an hour were among the improved weapons exhibited at a demonstration at Aberdeen, Maryland, which was witnessed by high officials of the Government.

Post: One Billion Dollars

The Post Office Department estimates that the public is defrauded to the extent of a billion dollars annually by fraudulent mail orders received through the mail.

Yellow Dog Contracts Prohibited

Arizona, Colorado, Ohio, and Oregon have recently passed laws prohibiting the use of contracts which bind workers not to join a labor union. Wisconsin had previously passed similar legislation.

Mexico Expels Chinese

The Chinese press is complaining bitterly of discrimination and persecution of the Chinese in Mexico. The Mexican press in turn is shouting the familiar cry of "yellow peril."

Number of Voters Increases

There are more than 72 million persons in the United States above 21 years of age, reports the Census Bureau.

Payrolls on Toboggan

About 14,000 manufacturing establishments report to the Bureau of Labor Statistics that their total payrolls dropped 32 per cent from December, 1929, to June, 1931, while the cost of living declined only 12 per cent during this period.

The American Dole

Not less than 250 million dollars were expended through organized charity in the United States during 1930, according to the American Association for Labor Legislation. This amount will have far exceeded during the current year.

Economic Depression Hits France

The total number of unemployed in France has risen to 700,000, according to a cable report published in *The Business Week*. Unemployment reports in August dropped 25 per cent as compared with the previous August. French Government securities are showing weakness, and the Banque Nationale de Credit, one of the Big Five, narrowly averted suspension.

The Capitalist—System or Chaos?

While the headlines have heralded the proposal to destroy one-third of the growing cotton crop, sufficient publicity has not been given to the fact that 3,000 bunches of bananas were recently dumped into the sea at Baltimore, and that an additional 522,032 pounds of coffee have been burned by the Government of Brazil in order to raise prices.

Should Missionaries Kill?

Twenty-seven missionaries in North China recently passed a resolution condemning the shooting of a Chinese burglar by Dr. F. F. Tucker, a fellow missionary.

Producers' Cooperatives

Coöperative societies of vegetable growers in the northeastern states report an annual sale amounting to more than 13 million dollars.

Women Workers

According to the National Industrial Conference Board, there were nearly 11 million women and girls engaged in gainful occupations in the United States on April 1st, 1930, or 22 per cent of the total number of workers employed in the country.

Need for Sickness Insurance

Some 250 million work days per year are lost in the United States due to illness. The total amount paid for medical service in this country is about three billion dollars annually, according to an estimate by the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care.

Senator Borah on Russia

I can see no real peace in Europe until the Russian problem is settled. It is my belief there can be no disarmament of any moment, particularly land disarmament, until Russia is brought into the family of nations and amicable relations and clear understanding with all other powers are established; that there can be no economic health or stability in Europe, or the world, so long as this gigantic power, stupendous and incalculable in her natural wealth and her manpower, is writhing and struggling to escape her thralldom; and this will last so long as she is treated as an outlaw and denied an opportunity to enjoy the ordinary methods of credit and trade. I feel that all efforts toward peace and better understanding among the nations must be indefinitely retarded so long as one-sixth of the earth's surface, occupied by the third largest population in the world is estranged and afraid. . . . Mr. President, if I had my way about it I would establish normal relations with the Russian Government. In doing so I would not assume I was indorsing the communistic theory; in doing so I would not indorse their method of carrying on their government; in doing so I would have no fear of their teachings or their propaganda undermining American citizenship. I would believe that as Russia is there, with her 150,000,000 people, occupying one-sixth of the earth's surface, that we have got to deal with her, and that it is better to deal with her in that way than in the abnormal and extraordinary way which leads to abnormal and extraordinary policies.—Hon. William E. Borah in a speech before the Senate of the United States, March 3, 1931.

Removing Economic Barriers to Peace

NORMAN THOMAS

IF TODAY anyone doubts that the primary roots of war are economic, let him look at the news of the world. As I write, China and Japan are already virtually at war despite the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact. The immediate events leading to war are still somewhat clouded in obscurity, but basically the trouble has come to a head because Japan owns a valuable economic concession, a railroad, in Manchuria which is part of China.

As for France—there is a general agreement among all competent observers, from the pessimistic Frank Simonds to the more optimistic experts of the Foreign Policy Association, that she has consistently and ruthlessly used her gold to back up her military strength and acquire a power in Europe that she has not had since Napoleonic days. That power is quite likely to be short-lived and to end in new world war. Today it has brought her friends and her enemies, her military allies, as well as Germany, Austria, and Hungary, to sullen support of her demands.

Russia's famous Five Year Plan includes the support of an enormous army which the Soviet government, rightly or wrongly believes must ultimately be used in the inevitable war forced by the clash between Communism and the capitalist West.

It is not merely in international relations that economic interests, nurtured in a soil of nationalism, threaten us with war. In every part of the earth the discontent of workers—a discontent arising from economic insecurity and deep-seated exploitation—threatens us with violence.

Popular revolutions in Cuba and Chile have been put down by governments to which the air forces remained loyal. In every country military establishments are maintained not only with an eye on rival neighbors but also with an eye on discontent at home.

It is certainly not a world where peace can be easily obtained by some political panacea or nostrum. Whatever the uses of the Kellogg Pact or of the League of Nations, it is obvious that thus far they have been almost impotent to relieve the world of the disease of war or to remove the fear and apprehension which psychologically tend to make more likely the very calamities the nations dread. I do not mean by this that one, or better many, political agreements may not help us diminish the danger of war and gain time for economic readjustment. I believe intensely in the importance of securing the maximum possible amount of success for the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. But even the most optimistic believer in disarmament

must see that real and lasting disarmament will be hard to obtain and harder to keep save as it is a natural expression of good will between a community of nations. Such a community of nations does not exist today.

The ultimate tragedy of our times, the cause alike of economic insecurity, poverty, and war, is the fact that our political and economic institutions are completely at variance with economic reality. Machinery has made our world small and interdependent. The standard of living which machinery makes possible can only be maintained by world cooperation. Once we harness the wild horses of machinery to our service, we could abolish poverty. That requires in an interdependent world not only a national but an international plan of production for use rather than profit.

PEACE can be achieved and maintained only by fundamental economic reconstruction or revolution. The problem of the peace worker is to achieve this revolution so far as may be possible by orderly, non-violent means. Orderly and non-violent means, as Gandhi has shown, are not necessarily always legal. Indeed, against oppressive tyranny, they cannot always be legal. But in a country such as the United States and other Western democracies, imperfect as our current democracy is, much may be accomplished through informed public opinion and the proper political and economic organization of workers with hand and brain by means that are not only orderly but legal.

It will help in the achievement of peaceful revolution if we can reach among men and women of good will a fairly general agreement on two related subjects: (1) What the phrase, "a community of nations," must mean in economic terms; and (2) the immediate steps that must be taken to remove the most alarming barriers to peace.

Nothing is to be gained and much is to be lost by the unconscious tendency of many peace advocates to minimize the ultimate price of peace or to sentimentalize a phrase like the "community of nations." The true community of nations in an economically interdependent world from which the class struggle as well as nationalistic rivalry has been banished—and there is no other sure basis for genuine and lasting peace—must be a world in which there is economic planning based on the acceptance of the principle of production for use, not profit. Specifically it will have to be a world where economic commissions of experts, foreshadowed by some of the inter-allied boards in war time, guide an international fiscal system and supervise an allocation

of raw materials. A genuine community of nations will use tariffs sparingly, if at all, and only for temporary purposes of stimulating a wisely considered growth of industry in a part of the world where for one reason or another that growth has been unduly retarded. These are the main outlines; experience will fill in the picture.

THE immediate task is to face some of the more pressing economic causes of war. Most of our economic evils might legitimately be considered under this head. There is small doubt that the present world-wide depression makes war more likely. Nations, are never too poor to fight. A national government in Britain may cut the dole for the unemployed; it will not seriously cut England's expenditures for armaments. Your Andrew Mellons and other alleged financial experts can always finance war loans though they raise hands of holy horror at the talk of a five billion dollar hunger loan to create decent housing in America and for other public works. Nations which will not be kept from war merely by poverty offer less resistance to the war spirit when workers are unemployed and farmers remember that in war times there is never a glut of wheat on the market. Moreover, nations caught in depressions become more frantic than ever in the rivalry for foreign markets which is so potent a cause of war. When England went off the gold standard, it meant by common consent new competition with America for foreign markets—a competition made more favorable to England by the lessened value of the pound.

The possible offset to the danger of foreign war in time of depression is the danger of internal violent revolution arising out of that same depression and made more likely if foreign war gives the signal for revolt. In other words, we may be restrained from international war by fear of internal rebellion. And how precarious is peace on such a basis! If reason played its proper role in human affairs, it would not take a single day to realize that against both foreign war and internal rebellion, economic planning for the good of the workers is the surest defense.

IN THE international field the immediate economic barriers to peace are four in number: (1.) German reparations and interallied debts. In a sick world wherein the old capitalist system is collapsing, recovery to health under a new economic policy is rendered infinitely more difficult by the economic and psychological folly of trying to make the present and the future by some hocus-pocus pay the past costs of a cruel, stupid, and unnecessary imperialist war in which no one nation was the sole offender. The attempt of the Allies to collect reparations from Germany, and of the United States to collect debts from the former Allies, arbitrarily interferes with the natural currents of trade and is largely responsible for the condition of the German

workers today. Psychologically it creates an immense mass of suspicion and ill will. No moratorium will give us more than a breathing space. It would be simply enlightened selfishness for the United States to propose an economic conference for wiping out inter-allied debts and the reparations imposed on Germany on the sole condition that cancellation of debts shall make impossible any increase in armaments. What the United States would seem to lose would be more than gained in lessened tension, in the probable lightening of armament, and the increase of trade. What the Allies have been paying to our Treasury should be collected by increased income taxes on that group among whom the profiteers in the last war and the holders of foreign securities are to be found.

(2.) Russian relations. Again it is but plain common sense to point out that in dealing with Soviet Russia we have two choices, and only two: either recognition and trade on a fairly friendly basis, or the attempt to destroy the Soviet government and all it stands for. Merely to refuse recognition and threaten boycotts does not harm the Soviet government and will make war much more likely. Soviet Russia cannot be destroyed and emphatically should not be destroyed. Nothing is left save to recognize this great nation and to trade with her. Whatever the rigors of the Soviet dogma of the inevitability of war, in practice the Soviet government wants trade and has actually proposed not only disarmament but satisfactory trade agreements. Nations which embrace this trade and set their own economic house in order may find war with Communist Russia less than inevitable.

(3.) Imperialism—that is, the extension of the sovereignty of strong nations over weak nations for the sake of economic gain. The immediate principle to be adopted here is an absolute refusal to use public force of arms to protect American dollars abroad. The ultimate solution of this problem is, as I have indicated, international economic organization.

(4.) Tariffs. There is fortunately a surprisingly general growth in the understanding of the elementary fact that artificial trade barriers like tariffs do not make for international prosperity or good will between nations. Nevertheless, protectionists are in the saddle in all countries. Lovers of peace have an immense educational work to do. The United States should lower its own tariffs and should take the lead in economic conferences looking to general readjustment downward of tariffs. There is no escaping the fact that tariff walls are likely to be defended by soldiers and economic barriers are lined with great armaments.

That even this modest four-point program runs counter to popular prejudice and ignorance and to the short-sighted interests of powerful economic groups, goes without saying. The difficulties before us are many but the prize is great. Let us go forward.

Educating for Peace and Not for War

GEORGE A. COE

CIVILIZATION suffers from a divided selfhood. As nations we desire peace, yet we are marching toward war. Our peace education is at work not so much in our exchange professorships and scholarships, our "international mind alcoves" in libraries, our Junior Red Cross in the public schools, our world federation of educational associations and our church-school study courses—it is mostly within the area of longing or sentiment. We must have sentiment, of course, but the tragedy is that our sentiment is so remote—psychically remote—from the influences that control the statesmen who are manipulating our fate. It is almost as if our peace education, looking up at the ramparts of a fort that is about to open fire upon an enemy, were saying politely, "Please, don't hurt anybody!" If education for peace is to get ahead of the forces that are making for war, we must have a clearer realization of the task that is upon us.

THE objective of peace education must be nothing less than overt action here and now that is clearly defined, deliberate, and resolute. We must not be content with inner states or attitudes; we must go on to conduct that can be observed by others. Clearly defined and deliberate conduct; not imitative, not emotionally impulsive, not the action of a human herd. Action here and now, because war is now in the making. Resolute action, which can meet rebuff after rebuff, or even physical suffering, without giving up. There are many types of possible action: making the right kind of contact with a congressman or other officer of government; injecting the peace question into political campaigns; informing a community concerning the coming conference on disarmament or other immediate issues; inducing one's church to separate itself officially and totally from war; keeping military training out of a high school or college, or putting it out if it is already there; encouraging the decision by students not to submit to such training; enrolling as "two-per-cent-ers."

THE actualities of war-making and of peace-making must be brought into the mental foreground; they must not be left in the background. Assent to ideals can be taken for granted. Militarists themselves exalt generalized peace ideals. But militarists do not teach the young exactly how wars are decided upon; how peace-loving peoples are induced to fight; just what happens in camps and on battlefields; how peace treaties are made and what they mean; and what are the biological, ethical, economic, and social, as well as military and political

effects of war. Militarists want us to love peace but to leave concrete details to the government, even though our officials have time and again acted incompetently in the very rudiments of national conduct.

Education for peace must be realistic without being rancorous. It must have the objectivity, balance, coolness, thoroughness, and implacability of science. This applies likewise to peace and peace-makers. Ideals are not enough; we need to be critical in our attitude toward ourselves.

THE deep-lying dynamics of war-making, which reside in our economic system, must be laid bare, and overt action within this sphere must become normal to the peace movement. War occurs in our time, not because men like to fight, but because they go after possessions and economic power that affect international relations. The primary war-makers are the financial and industrial "interests." Peace-making must rectify these interests. The economic and international interests of the people as a whole are now being sacrificed to the apparent economic interests of a minority. "National security" and "national defense" are not security or defense of ourselves against war, but exactly the opposite—namely, security for the investment of a few by means that bring war upon the many.

Our situation is an ironic one. The economic class that dictates our national war-producing policies is the same class that stands mute and helpless in the presence of our terrible economic depression. Nay, the policies of this class—high tariffs, for example—make for war and for unemployment at the same time. Education for peace, accordingly, should reveal to the young the actual economic-political dynamics of war-production, and it should create a determined readiness to act accordingly as a voting citizen.

THE encroachment of a perverted view of national sovereignty must be resisted, and the true functions of dissenting individuals and minorities must be made plain. Modern nationalism increasingly controls our public schools. The corner-stone of this nationalism is an assumption concerning sovereignty to the effect that not only may the state exercise an arbitrary will in its relations to other states, but also that it may act as the supreme arbiter of the loyalties of its own citizens. A majority decision by the Supreme Court asserts that the Constitution assigns to Congress the function of authoritatively determining for all citizens what is the will of God with respect to war and peace! Senator

gwad and Congressman Sittight, agents of divine revelation! Every church that is religiously self-respecting should resist this doctrine until it is officially repudiated, and peace forces generally should bestow upon it the ridicule it deserves.

In the schools of all modern countries the assumption is—tacitly at least—that the final ethical question—what life really is for—is to be settled for pupils by the state. That is, the state assumes the right to be ethically as well as juristically sovereign. Hence the cultivation of a national superiority complex the reverse of which is distrust of other peoples. This assumption is to be resisted all along the line. The state is an instrument, one mode of social organization among others, whereby we seek a limited number of our ends; we must not allow ourselves to be made into instruments of the state. The acts of the sovereign in relation to peace and war are decided upon by a relatively small number of fallible men, not demi-gods. These decisions deserve no more respect than does the wisdom of the men who make them. The fact that a few ordinary mortals wield the enormous power of the state makes it crucially important that citizens should not identify political prerogative with ethical right. Critical minorities have an indispensable function—minorities that hang together for a principle through any number of defeats in the polls. Hence also the *public* importance of the individual conscience. The conscientious objector to war accomplishes something far greater than keeping his own skirts clean. He prods the intelligence of his fellow citizens. Peace education should not hesitate, therefore, to lead individuals to choose for themselves whether or not they will obey a command to fight.

WE MUST oppose and resist military instruction in civil institutions until it is abolished. The legally defined purpose is to provide a corps of reserve officers; but to this the War Department has added the purpose of character education. *Character education by the War Department!* A militaristic interpretation of morals, religion, and patriotism; straight-out propaganda for the grasping economics and menacing nationalism that lead to war.

Peace education that did not tackle this evil both in local communities and in the policies of the government would be like loving our neighbors-in-general but letting our next-door neighbor starve. In each institution or community that has an R.O.T.C. let there be a dignified, continuous, determined protest. The religious denominations that have disapproved military instruction would now prove by conduct in these local situations that they mean what they say. In respect to land-grant colleges, the most that can be asked for at present is abolition of the compulsory feature; but meantime we would back up students who seek to be excused from drill. We must concentrate on Washington at the same

time, exposing the War Department usurpation, opposing appropriations for military instruction; we must work for legislation to release land-grant colleges from military duty and to take the War Department out of all civil institutions.

THESE are principles and policies not only for adult education but also—proper gradation being assumed—for the education of children and youth. The method of such education will be intelligent action here and now within the circle of the learner's experience. Since the goal that we have in mind, universal and permanent peace, is approved by all mankind, we cannot be accused of substituting propaganda for education when we promote intelligent, self-chosen action to this end. What we propose is not to displace the infallible state by an infallible teacher but to develop the learner's own capacity to know, to choose, and to act resolutely. Even small children can have a part in this process. Consider, for example, the prevalence of military toys and military games; military parades and displays; national holidays and celebrations; the hero lore of all nations; the tax-gatherer; the present hunger, which is largely due to the wastage of the World War.

Everybody is for peace and against war. The task of education is to make all of us intelligent and resolute in giving expression to this conviction.

What Nations Spend on Arms

(Expenditures of major Powers for the last fiscal year, figured at rounded par or in a few cases at the average of exchange, as compiled by the World Peace Foundation from the League of Nations Armaments Year Book.)

Government	Budget Expenditure
United States	\$707,425,000
Soviet Union	\$578,942,707
France	\$466,960,000
Great Britain	\$465,255,000
Italy	\$248,946,500
Japan	\$236,861,500
India	\$211,587,622
Germany	\$171,923,040
Spain	\$112,583,300
China	\$94,291,650
Poland	\$92,073,000
Brazil	\$55,005,920
Rumania	\$53,647,200
Yugoslavia	\$50,458,000
Argentina	\$50,331,291
Mexico	\$46,335,500
Sweden	\$39,750,000
Belgium	\$33,303,200
The Netherlands	\$30,880,000
Chile	\$28,920,000
Greece	\$21,340,800
Canada	\$21,069,200
Hungary	\$20,220,000
Switzerland	\$19,660,000

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Herding Cattle Down Broadway

When traffic down Broadway consisted of twenty broughams and a few herds of cows a day, no signals and no policemen were necessary. When the world was big and nations small and far between, no order was necessary in international affairs. Now the world has become small and nations and empires are enormous. Freedom of movement on the part of every one of them is impossible, for they are bound to keep bumping badly against each other in the narrow passages; and when nations bump there is always a danger of a serious spill.—*Salvador de Madariaga, in "Americans", pp. 3-4.*

The Military Mind in Japan

There is no element of surprise in the action of the American fliers who made photographs of fortified areas. Imperialism is sweeping the world. Peace and coöperation in a world like ours are dreams, after all. While talking of peace, America sent men to steal military secrets from us. Baron Shidehara, with his policy of pacification, has done more than any other man in lowering our reputation as an independent nation. We respect the courage with which he acts as he believes. He is a strong man in his own way. But we are afraid that his policy is one which will not promote peace. While he is at the head of our foreign affairs, there is danger of war. Nothing is more dangerous than non-resistance. Peace will not come the way of the weak.—*Editorial, Nippon, Japanese Daily, quoted in the Japan Advertiser, August 15, 1931.*

Can This Be Justified?

Five hundred and four persons in the United States, according to preliminary 1929 income tax returns, each had an income of one million dollars or over. Thirty-six of these each had an income of five millions or over. The average income of this group of thirty-six was over nine million seven hundred thousand dollars. A careful estimate made by Dr. Willford I. King of the National Bureau of Economic Research indicates the following approximate distribution of wealth in the United States in 1921: one per cent of property owners held thirty-three per cent of the wealth while ten per cent owned sixty-four per cent of the wealth. On the other hand, the Bureau reports that the average earnings of all wage earners attached to industries in 1927 amounted to \$1205, or \$23.17 a week. It is to be remembered that even these average earnings do not indicate the income of the least privileged, since millions must fall below the average. In 1930, when unemployment was severe, the total dividends paid by industrial, traction and railroad corporations, according to the Standard Statistics Company, amounted to \$318,600,000 more than those paid in the prosperous year of 1929, while at the same time the index of factory payrolls of the Federal Reserve Board showed that total wage payments decreased about 20 per cent from the total paid in 1929.—*Labor Day Message of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1931.*

Five Hundred Dollar Prize Winner

A sublime achievement of our nation is our northern boundary thirty-five hundred miles long unfortified, yet unviolated for over a century. The wars of the Revolution and 1812 left a tradition of national hatred better founded than any in Europe, and we have had excellent opportunities for wars with Britain ever since. However, by common sense, solving difficulties rather than "embracing dangers," we have maintained peace until it has become a habit, easy to follow, hard to break. Today our northern boundary shines before the world, a unique demonstration "peace on earth, good will toward men."—*Alfred L. Adams, The American Legion Monthly, September, 1931.*

Unanimous in Rejecting

We may regard ourselves as fortunate that so soon after the appearance of the essential documentary sources, and even before the complete publication of the French and British official documents, so many scholars have come so close to agreement upon the main issues of the problem. They themselves, of course, are by no means ready to admit anything like an approach to agreement. But the differences are those involving shades of opinion and emphasis. They are unanimous in rejecting the thesis that "Germany plotted to bring about the War," although they differ as to whether the German Government might not have exercised such restraint upon its Ally as to have prevented a local quarrel from developing into a general war. . . . It is likely that the man in the street who wants to be told who or what "caused the War" would regard as refinements the shades of opinion that characterize the conclusions of Schmitt, Fay, Gooch, Temperley, Renouvin, Lutz.—*Charles Seymour (Yale), in The Virginia Quarterly Review, October, 1931.*

The Trend Toward Socialism

It is time to face the facts. The depression has deepened; recovery within any endurable period becomes day by day more doubtful as adequate corrective action is delayed. . . . Nothing but the individual business concern, community, or citizen can do for themselves can bring recovery save through a prolonged process of liquidation, loss and hardship in which only the strongest survive. Wage cuts, drastic individual or business economies, curtailment of public expenditures, contraction of credit may afford temporary relief and assure individual survival, but they progressively destroy the network of interdependence upon which the security of organized society rests, intensify and spread its distress, speed its disintegration, and make its reconstruction more difficult. Much as we may prize the principles of rugged individualism which vitalize enterprise where confidence and credit are protected there is now no alternative to chaos save to invoke the ultimate authority of the state in defense of the public security and take immediate and drastic steps to reestablish confidence by restoring the community's credit resources to its use.—*Editorial in the Business Week (published weekly for business men by McGraw-Hill), October 7, 1931.*

War Resistance Old and New

DEVERE ALLEN

THE path of history is strewn with the wrecks of idealistic enterprises. "Merely being different," as an educator used to put it, "will never make you great." The dictum is as true of movements as of individuals.

William Ladd, one of our early American pacifists, whose rapid progress from moderate peace views to extreme war resistance did not prevent him from evaluating radical groups with a salty realism, once became impatient with the non-resistants of a hundred years ago. These uncompromising opponents of war, government, and even the ballot, he predicted, would soon "go off from this mundane sphere at an inconsequential tangent and be lost amid the tag ends and odd bits of creation." Within thirty years, at any rate, most of the Garrisonian pacifists he had in mind were performing some kind of service to the cause of the Civil War.

Elihu Burritt, our most dynamic pacifist, secured between 1846 and 1849 more than thirty thousand signatures in England to a statement repudiating any voluntary service in war, and followed by winning another thirty thousand signers in the United States. His great project of a League of Universal Brotherhood, which was at once a potential menace to war-makers and the despair of those who wanted to achieve peace by painless methods, was at first amazingly successful. And yet, what came of it? Two decades later it had become, even for its promulgator himself, hardly more than an impressive memory.

Are the hundreds of thousands of war resisters around the world today in no better case than this? If not, our critics have a great deal on their side. But if our case is not the same, the difference may disarm the skeptics.

There was a central weakness in the Burritt method. Possible adherents were looked upon as prospective converts; they were approached, often, with as little regard for their intelligent coöperation as an itinerant evangelist pays to the mental independence of a half-intoxicated sot. People were not urged to think their way carefully into the question for themselves; the contrary arguments and difficulties were seldom raised and voluntarily faced. We have learned much since those days; yet have we learned in this respect all that we need to learn?

The very emotional moralism by which the campaign was pursued was bound to dissipate itself. Burritt, as well as others, gradually dropped his consuming interest for the appeal of easier projects:

projects more respectable, more productive of friendly regard, more promising of immediate accomplishment—that ever fatal lure! The international peace congress of 1843 aroused his internationalist enthusiasm as he read about it; into the job of creating new ones, he flung himself wholeheartedly. Yet these, too, valuable as they were, called for the suppression of his radical ideal; he was now a famous figure, known in many countries, hand-shaken by the great. In a few years he was completely involved in the unproductive mechanics of pacific orthodoxy; even his peace congresses went into a decline, and when the Civil War broke out, the League of Universal Brotherhood had been moribund for nearly a dozen years.

CONSCRIPTION in 1846 was not known in Britain or America; outside of a few preparedness zealots, no one thought seriously of it as a later possibility. Consequently, when men attached their names to a pledge of non-participation in warfare, even had the word "voluntary" not been there to vitiate its full significance, they were taking no drastic step in defiance of authority. Not only, thus, is a vastly different courage required of modern war resisters, who are compelled in many countries to go behind the bars in times of peace, but there is an even greater opportunity. For in another conflict no one will be exempt, and the trump card of peace can be played not solely by the male pacifists between the ages of eighteen and thirty but by both sexes and all ages in the population.

War, too, has grown immeasurably more compact, more socially inclusive in an economic sense. It is said that during the Napoleonic wars, previously unrivaled for severity, mannequins were allowed to pass back and forth between France and Austria, carrying fashion's latest whimsies. Today when war lays its mailed hand on the shoulders of all, demanding obedience from every worker, every housewife, every preacher, when chemical, industrial, and transport processes must function without interruption if war is to be waged, war-making governments are more dependent, as they very well know, upon a uniform acquiescence. The power of a determined war-resisting group, maintaining solidarity and consisting of people whose public service in non-military ways has to be conceded, is now enormous. It may take only two per cent to stop a war, as Einstein says; this all depends upon the circumstances and the war, and may take less as well as more.

IN Burritt's day pacifism was the exclusive property of Christians, and this was clearly a source of weakness, notwithstanding the glorious Christian pacifist tradition. Today war resistance has been extended throughout members of all faiths and none, and not the most orthodox Christian pacifist can be other than glad because it has. War resistance has attained universality in its appeal and interest, without which it could hardly hope for permanence.

When Burritt worked, there were no large-scale victories on record for non-violent resistance. Previous examples existed, but had never been realistically evaluated and perpetuated in literature. Today we are much better off in this respect; pragmatically our strength has been even recently augmented by the non-violent successes in South Africa and India.

Our churches, too, have shown a new vitality. I put scant faith in resolutions, but in resolution much. There is, I think, incontestably a more meaningful peace mood among many religious bodies of today. I am not forgetful of the unawakened masses in church and synagogue; but in our leadership we are at least a long mile further down the road to war resistance.

Besides, we have a labor movement which, outside the United States, is often strongly favorable to war resistance. Labor unions have already learned the lesson of crisis-solidarity. Our own Socialist Party is not the least pacifist of worker's groups. In Europe, great organizations like the International Textile Workers, the International Miners' Congress, the International Trade Union Congress, the British Co-operative Congress, and the British Independent Labor Party, have endorsed war resistance, and the influential Labor and Socialist International has done so with regard to countries refusing arbitration.

And now, instead of an amorphous list of names on paper, we have definite war resistance organizations which, despite their lack of strength in many quarters, reach all around the world and are tied up together, throughout twenty-one countries, in the War Resisters International.

ALL movements are affected in their leverage less by their ideology, perhaps even less at times by their leadership, than by the social scene in which they labor. "Nothing is so powerful," said Victor Hugo, "as an idea whose time has come." I do not assert, dogmatically, that the hour has struck for the general success of war resistance. Nevertheless, there are factors which point that way. The increasing power of modern weapons and the complexity of organization, which alone permits their use, has transferred the balance of power disproportionately to the side of governments and authority-wielding groups. Revolution, I predict, will soon cease to be practicable by violence and can be accomplished, if not by constitutional means, only by non-violent struggle.

The infinite rise of voluntary associations in modern society, for fraternal, economic, protective, or reformist ends presents a structure conducive to group solidarity in a crisis; and though these have been recently subservient to the state, their prototypes were not uniformly so by any means, and they can now be mobilized even more readily for war resistance once the peace-will is developed. Furthermore, while the romance of war is stronger in appeal than popular thought acknowledges, its futility in terms of politics and economics is more deeply understood, and war resistance offers a chance for the outlet of sacrifice and heroism fully as great as that required in war. And it is no matter to be thrown lightly aside that the intellectual status of war resistance has of late been lifted higher. For Einstein is matched by the famous French novelist, Victor Margueritte, whose book *La Patrie Humaine* is a sensation; by the great Dutch woman writer Henriette Roland-Holst; the well-known Finnish author, Arvid Jarnefeldt, and many others, including H. G. Wells. Dr. Hans Wehberg, the international jurist, has said, "As an impartial observer who has still many an objection against the form of war resisters' propaganda made in peace circles, I have to admit, this movement is on the way and seems likely to conquer the world sooner or later."

IF we are to go on moving, there are certain needs that speedily suggest themselves. First, we in the United States must build our movement up to parity at present we lag behind Great Britain and, proportionately, other countries. In this upbuilding we need more war resistance literature written in the scientific spirit, but popular and readable. We need more platform advocates. We need more competent, more coordinated organization. There should be no slackening of the campaign in the churches; there should be, besides, a give-and-take approach to labor coupled with active participation by all pacifists in the struggle for a just society. The War Resisters International deserves, and should receive, far more abundant backing, moral and financial. The technique for mobilizing war resistance in the face of imminent war needs to be discussed and in a measure formulated. The war-makers are trained and ready, with their charts close to their hands. Above all, the whole field of pacifist initiative, which goes out *first*, and not defensively, to meet evil and injustice, demands detailed and statesmanlike development.

We have come far—farther in the last twelve years than in the previous sixty-eight. Our movement can now bear the shafts of realistic criticism. But if, with all these gains, we stand hesitant, we shall lose as pacifists the chance before this generation. Have we the courage and intelligence to grapple freshly with the things yet to be done? The next few years will tell.

Religion and World Crisis

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

HENRY ADAMS, writing of the political corruption in the United States in the decades following the Civil War, once declared: "The whole government from top to bottom was rotten with the senility of what was antiquated and the instability of what was improvised." Whatever may have been the truth of the description of the Grant administrations, those phrases give a terribly accurate description of the world's present plight in regard to war—"The senility of what is antiquated and the instability of what is improvised." The antiquated senility of war on the one hand and the quavering instability of the improvised organization of peace on the other! Wandering between two worlds where we cannot wander long!

At the very outset, in considering religion and world crisis, we are less than realistic if we do not face the solemn truth that multitudes have long since ceased to hope or believe that religion will prove an influential factor in meeting the world crisis in international relations which casts its shadow over the present year. This multitude is not by any means made up entirely or even largely of cynics and avowed anti-religionists. It includes disconcertingly large groups of thoughtful, earnest, socially-minded and internationally-minded men and women. Such people are not occupied in the dogmatic denial that there are resources in religion which might be brought to bear. That would be a theoretical question which they do not regard as practically significant. In many cases, the mood of indifference in relation to religion as a factor in eliminating war is coupled with recognition that there are tremendous resources in religion—resources of moral idealism, resources of quickened social imagination—which could profoundly augment the movement for peace. But they do not look for these energies to be loosed from the straight-jackets of tradition and conformity in which they are now bound. In other words, religion is a frozen asset. In these days of depression we seem to be living in a frozen world—frozen capital, frozen loans, frozen credit. The financial pages of the newspaper read like the reports of an Arctic expedition. And in the thought of many, God and faith in God, are frozen assets—a possible source of power which is not being and will not be brought into play.

HOWEVER much those of us who believe deeply in the social resources of religion may reject this indifference and disdain, if we are at all honest, we must admit that there is a staggering weight of justification for such an attitude in the history of organized religion

and in particular in its record during the first thirty years of the twentieth century. A cynic said the other day that militarists need not worry over the pacifist position of thousands of clergymen as disclosed in the questionnaire conducted by THE WORLD TOMORROW last spring; that the church has always been opposed to past wars and future wars but never to present wars! Yet is that not shamefully near the truth? In the face of an appalling facility in bleaching all the color out of Jesus, of churchmen squirming around so that they justified the war-makers and blessed the war, of setting Caesar above Christ, can we deny that religion has been largely a frozen asset? Can we refute the bitter, "winter words" of Thomas Hardy:

After two thousand years of mass
We've got as far as poison gas?

In Remarque's *The Road Back* there is a memorable scene where some ex-soldiers in a court room seek to save the life of a maddened comrade of the "lost years," on trial for murder. One of them bursts forth in a denunciation of the court which has a far wider application. This is his indictment:

You should have come to our help! But no, you left us alone in that worst time of all, when we had to find a road back again. You should have proclaimed it from every pulpit; you should have told us so when we were demobilized; again and again you should have said to us: "We have all grievously erred. We have all to find the road back again. Have patience!" You should have shown us what life is! You should have taught us to live again! But no, you left us to stew in our juice! You left us to go to the dogs! You should have taught us to believe again in kindness, in order, in culture, in love!

With all allowance for the emotional strain of the passage, must we not, with bowed heads of humility and repentance, admit its application to organized religion, during the years of seeking "the road back"?

One of the tragic difficulties of the situation comes from what is in a sense a real asset: the fact that there has been so much talk of peace and propaganda for peace in the last fifteen years. Physicians tell us that successive epidemics are less and less severe because a larger percentage of the population develops immunity from the disease in each epidemic. Something like that happens in the matter of peace: the very avalanche of discussion and talk seems to develop a numbed immunity to action.

One thing becomes painfully clear. If religion is to be a factor in averting the calamity of war it must develop a new attitude, a new sense of the momentous-

ness of the issue, a new courage of the concrete. It must get out of the clutches of the drug habit—the deadliest drug in the world—words. Perils cannot be paid off with platitudes. If the organized Christian religion contents itself, as it so often has, with a mumbled recommendation of the “spirit of Christ” as a generalized panacea for war, if it does not move to the dangerous edge of concrete issues, it will remain not only frozen but petrified. We have used the words “Christian religion” above, not in any sense disregarding the spiritual and moral powers of other religions, but only in recognition of the overwhelming weight of responsibility which rests on the followers of Christ for the secure organization of peace, as the religion of the majority of the people of Europe and the Americas.

VERY briefly and simply, may we set down some central convictions which most increasingly control the thinking of the peoples of the world and find expression in action, if the resources of our religion are to be let loose to redeem the world from war.

(1.) There must be a recognition, to an intensity never realized before, that every fair hope of humanity absolutely depends on the establishment of peace. Peace is the essential framework, the foundation for the upholding and preservation of every value in civilization. It must become the one great preoccupation of rational men and women. How utterly idiotic it would be for the passengers on an ocean liner, which had a large hole in its side through which water was pouring like a torrent, to plead absorption in the activities of ship-board—dinner, a dance, reading in the library, attending a religious service—as an excuse for refusing to help keep the boat from going down! How much would any of these employments be worth if the ship goes down? Just as much as any human enterprise, any human value, will be worth if the world is engulfed by war. We are living in years of grace, a space of time—how short God alone knows—in which civilization may be saved by heroic efforts. If through some tragic preoccupation with any lesser goals, the forces of religion do not avert war, they will have betrayed God and man.

(2.) The total spiritual and moral powers of religion must be massed to compel great and genuine progressive disarmament. Surely never before did the mounting costs of armament stand revealed as such monumental stupidity as in this year of unemployment, anguish, and starvation. But, of course, the chief blight of armaments to the world's life, the ultimate immorality which is a supreme challenge to religion, is not the cost but the danger.

Last spring, in the launching of a “pocket battleship” at Kiel, Germany, there was given an unintended demonstration of the operation of armament in the modern world, a demonstration so frightfully accurate and clear that it should not be allowed to slip from memory. The

ship was held by only a few cables while President Hindenburg was to christen it. But, before the ceremony could be even begun, the ponderous weight of the battleship caused it to snap its cable and slide down the way into the sea. Piled up armaments have always snapped the leash that held them. That runaway battleship at Kiel is a vivid living picture of the words of Newton D. Baker, “Modern war is a loaded pistol aimed at the heart of civilization itself, with the hair trigger held by an unsteady hand. The approaching disarmament conference will show whether the size and power of the pistol is to be increased or decreased, or the hand rendered more unsteady.” The forces of religion must be focused on the demand that the nations, with the United States as our particular responsibility, go to Geneva with a plan for real disarmament. The world cannot stand another such “victory” as the last London Conference of January, 1930.

IN PARTICULAR, two conditions for real disarmament progress seem at this time to be obvious and inescapable: first, disarmament treaties on the basis of the Kellogg Pact; and second, an honest effort to begin carrying out the solemn pledge the allied nations made to Germany to inaugurate a process of disarmament, a pledge imbedded in the Versailles treaty.

(3.) Above all, there is needed that courage of the concrete which now, at long last, will recognize the things which we cannot have without war. Everyone, all nations are for peace. It has become like the schoolboy's definition of an axiom: “Something so clear that you don't need to see it.” Where the ethical insight and moral power of religion must be brought to bear is to show the roots of war in the things the nations demand. Near the close of his *Autobiography*, Lincoln Steffens puts this clearly: “Wilson did not mean peace, not literally, nor do we Americans, nor do the British mean peace. We do not want war. Nobody in the world wants war; but some of us do *want the things we can't have without war.*” The present insufferable burden of reparations, security on an armament basis, towering tariff walls in a world that is starving for cooperation—these things the nations cannot have without war.

(4.) Finally, in the world depression and crisis today is to be found a convincing demonstration of one of the central implications of all “high religion”—that “God hath made men of one flesh to dwell together.” There are no longer any private events; there will be no more. A world war is followed by a world depression. For richer, for poorer, for better, for worse, in sickness and in health, as long as they all shall live, the nations of the earth are tied together. These days in which we live have put a red, searing Q.E.D. to that proposition. What can religion do but carry forward the implications of its own faith in one humanity and, from a world disorder, lead the way to a world order?

Conscience Versus the State

the President and Congress of the United States:

The recent decision of the Supreme Court, which denies the right of citizenship to persons who refuse to abdicate their conscience on the question of participation in armed conflict, forces us, the undersigned citizens, to notify the constituted authorities of our opinion that we share the convictions of those who have been denied citizenship.

Some of the undersigned find it impossible, because of religious and moral scruples, to render any kind of combatant service in time of war. Others share the conviction of one of the persons denied citizenship in the recent Supreme Court decision and cannot promise support to the Government until they have had the opportunity of weighing the moral issues involved in an international struggle.

We concur in the minority opinion of the Supreme Court that "in the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the State has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation, as a matter of principle, would undoubtedly be made by many of our conscientious citizens. The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation."

W. S. Abernethy, *Minister, Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.*

Peter Ainslie, *Minister, Christian Temple, Baltimore.*

William F. Anderson, *Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston.*

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Blank for Additional Signature

Finding myself in agreement with the foregoing statement concerning a decision of the Supreme Court with regard to conscientious objectors to war, I desire to have my name added as a signatory.

Name _____

Position _____

Street Address _____

City and State _____

(Tear off and mail promptly to Mrs. Betty Parker Wilks, 347 Madison Avenue, Room 704, New York City.)

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FREDERICK J. LIBBY

Boston *October 30*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
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SAMUEL GUY INMAN
WILLIAM F. ANDERSON

Brooklyn *October 25*

ERNEST LAPOINTE, M.P.
HARRY ALLEN OVERSTREET
REINHOLD NIEBUHR
LYNN HAROLD HOUGH

Buffalo *October 29*

RICHARD ROBERTS
KIRBY PAGE

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A. RAY PETTY

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The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

When East Meets West

The Challenge of the East. By Sherwood Eddy. Farrar & Rinehart. \$2.50.

THIS is a remarkable book. The author covers an immense sweep—India, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Turkey, and Palestine—that part of the world which is in turmoil and revolution. Most books which have assayed the task of covering awakening Asia—and there has been a generous crop of them—have either threshed over the straw gathered by others or given the first impressions of a rapid traveler. *The Challenge of the East* reminds one of such books only by contrast. Its author is as much at home anywhere between Yokohama and Constantinople as in America. The great leaders of Asia—Prince Tokugawa, Viscount Shibusawa, and Kagawa of Japan, Yun Chi Ho of Korea, C. T. Wang, James Yen, and Chang Po Ling of China, Gandhi of India, and scores of others like them—are his personal friends of many years' standing. He speaks not only as a friend of Asia but as the mouthpiece of the Asiatic people. He is fired by their vision and incensed by their wrongs. I can think of no one else who could have written this book but Sherwood Eddy. His nearly forty years of residence and travel throughout this vast area and his extraordinary powers of observation, analysis, and portrayal were necessary to give us this volume.

Although baptized as the author is in Asiatic consciousness, one detects no hint of propaganda in his writing. He examines both sides of every question with a spirit of detachment which one rarely finds. "If the writer has any bias or any personal equation against which the reader should be on his guard," he himself warns us, "it is a natural sympathy with the under dog, in favor, wherever possible, of the new nationalism against the old foreign imperialism." But there are many evidences throughout the book that he is putting himself as well as the reader on guard. "We must," he says, "write with realism rather than sentimental idealism. There are certain facts which must be told today, however painful or humiliating they may be to the nationals of the various countries concerned, especially at a time when all the people above concerned are supersensitive concerning their own defects." He does not hesitate to refer to "the abysmal evils of China," and criticizes China for pointing out "the evils of the opium trade of foreign nations which are exploiting her, but without admitting the beam in her own eye of her own opium traffic, which is tenfold greater and more shameful than the activities of all the foreign nations in China combined." He is equally faithful and realistic in his presentation of actual conditions in all the countries in Asia.

Every foot of the long road across Asia reveals new questions, controversies, and issues. What about the independence of Korea,

the Philippines, and India? What should be the relation between Arabs and Jews in Palestine? To whom shall Manchuria belong, China or Japan? What is the white man's place in Asia? What is the future of communism in China and Japan? Is democracy feasible in China and India? Sherwood Eddy never makes a road around a difficulty. He openly takes sides in a controversy. You know what he thinks on every question, why he thinks, and why his opponent holds a different point of view. This combination of fearlessness and fairness is a distinct characteristic of everything that he writes.

While the author is without bias, he does hold throughout a definite point of view. This gives a distinct unity to the volume in spite of its wide sweep over such a vast area and the inclusion of so many different peoples. His thesis is that East and West have met and that the meeting is full of consequences to both. "The ultimate effect will not be on one side. The impact of the West has awakened the East. But it does not yet appear what will be the final contribution of the East to the West." We shall find in his pages few, if any, references to the beauties of Oriental scenery, the glories of her ancient art, and the charm of Asiatic customs. His concern is the Challenge of the East. Implicit in every page is the question, "What are you going to do about it?"

FLETCHER S. BROCKMAN

Pacifist Ammunition

Society at War 1914-1916. By Caroline E. Playne. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.50.

Can War Be Averted? By Sir Leo Chiozza Money. Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 10s. 6d.

Scientific Disarmament. By Victor Lefebure. Macmillan. \$2.

FOUR things these books have in common: they are a fascinating reading, a quality which does not hurt a book; they come from British pens, a fact which possibly indicates a trend in the thinking over there; the authors are well-known people in their fields; and, finally, each makes a distinct contribution to the cause of international adjustment and peace.

Miss Playne's book, which follows her earlier ones on *The Pre-War Mind in Britain* and *The Neuroses of the Nation*, is a study in mass psychology, showing what happens to the mental functioning of the people of a nation which goes to war. From reports, articles, clippings, and personal notes made during the years 1914-16, the author reproduces a picture of the hysteria, the inanities, and the warped moral judgment which affect alike statesmen, clerics, women, journalists, society people, and citizens generally. To those who have read John Kenneth Turner, Philip Gibbs, Arthur Ponsonby, Norman Angell, or some of the articles in the *American Mercury*, the material will not be new.

in this book it is gathered together not to make a case against any particular group but rather as a simple objective study of a concrete situation—and it is all the more devastating for that reason. When it appears that any nation goes mad in war, even though it seems to be a holy war, national self-respect will be added to the other forces working to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe.

Sir Leo Chiozza Money, who was a member of various war commissions in Britain, has written from the political and economic angle a very discerning book on the necessity and method for achieving peace. The chief merit of his work lies in its careful analysis of the injustices and unsolved problems left by the late war. He regards the maintenance of the *status quo* as the last thing to be desired and believes that enduring peace can rest only on international contentment. The comprehensive nature of his thinking is indicated in the "Fourteen Points" which he stipulates as necessary for peace: a world league of nations enforced from the peace treaties and from sanctions, universal compulsory arbitration, a world court of justice, equality of economic opportunity, cancellation of war debts and reparations, restoration of German colonies, rectification of frontiers, general disarmament, freedom of the seas, internationalization of strategic points like the Suez and Panama canals, promotion of migration, condominium for disputed territories, colonization of sparsely populated lands, and freedom of commerce.

Major Lefebure, from his wide experience in the production of munitions during the war, brings a new element into the discussion of disarmament that should clear away some of the fog surrounding the question. By means of a careful examination of the conditions requisite for the production of guns, shells, tanks, gas projectiles, and planes, he shows that even with unlimited resources and the utmost desire for speed there is bound to be a production lag of six to twelve months or more before most of those items could be delivered in sufficient quantities for large-scale war. If, then, he argues, the armament of the several nations is limited to what might be considered necessary for policing purposes, together with the abolition of the private manufacture of arms or the private training of combatants, surprise attacks or a sudden rushing into war would be physically impossible. This clear demonstration of the inevitable time lag involved should be of great value in quieting the fears for their own security under disarmament which some nations have expressed. Major Lefebure shows that disarmament, when it is approached in a scientific spirit, instead of from the point of view of political rivalries, is a perfectly practical question, susceptible of a reasonable solution.

But where is the will to peace? How shall we get the nations to adopt these proposals? A picture of a madhouse will not keep people sane, a description of what international justice requires will not affect those who insist on thinking in national terms, and a demonstration of the practicability of disarmament will not convince those who prefer what they call armed security. To get action in these directions a determination to achieve peace far more widespread than has yet been developed must be cultivated. When peace comes to be seen, not as the undisturbed possession of what a nation holds, but as the equitable functioning of an international society, then the proposals of Sir Leo Chiozza Money and Major Lefebure will be accepted as commonplaces. Their value now lies in showing that the goal is both possible and reasonable. The atmosphere in which they can be applied is still in the making.

PAUL JONES

Our Southern Neighbors

Mexico—A Study of Two Americas. By Stuart Chase in collaboration with Marian Tyler. Macmillan Co. \$3.00.

America Hispana—A Portrait and a Prospect. By Waldo Frank. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

TWO excellent and readable books by gifted writers have been added to the rapidly increasing literature designed to interpret the Americas one to the other. Stuart Chase, seeking relaxation from writing books, wandered into Mexico. Avoiding Mexico City, he traveled for five months through central and southern Mexico, learning more about its life than most Americans who have lived there five times as many years. Its topography, its pyramids (500-1000 A. D.), its hundreds of villages in which no wheel has ever turned, its maize civilization, fascinated him. Its people—especially the Indians with their love of beauty, their handicrafts, their self-sufficiency as to food, their lack of unemployment, their wantlessness (they are the despair of traveling salesmen), and their indifference to clocks—set this lively economist to comparing their almost machineless civilization with our mechanized age. In making his comparison he uses *Middletown* (a study of a city of 40,000) as the symbol for the United States and *Tepoztlán* (a study of a village of 4,000) as a symbol for Mexico. Judged by the larger values of life, we are the weaker, except in matters of public health and organized education.

As a parvenu cousin he indulges in some advice to the Mexicans—a summary of his own convictions regarding what they should retain of the old and what they should take from the new—a thought-provoking bit of frankness! The illustrations by Diego Rivera are in themselves worth the price of the book. There is an excellent bibliography, too.

Waldo Frank has undertaken the larger task of interpreting in turn all the countries of Latin America, creating for the reader in beautiful diction "an image of the living organism about which the facts are recorded," and giving him "an experience of the truth which this collective living being represents." An amazing amount of research, especially since the historic literature of South America is still in chaos, and the fruitage of an extended lecture trip through all these countries are combined, "in ruthless love of truth and in utter freedom from personal considerations," to tell the truth as he sees it about their involved psychologies, the interrelation of their racial pasts, their history, present attitudes, and possible futures. Then follows an interlude setting forth in most illuminating fashion the life stories of San Martín and Bolívar and their significance in the struggle of the South American countries for freedom from Spain.

The second part of the book is devoted to a study of the religious and social philosophies of Latin America as against the United States, their cultural ideas and their need one of the other. Half-worlds, he calls them—America Hispana, lacking the means to fulfillment, and the United States, the impulse toward a fresh creative beginning.

While it is possible to disagree with the author's emphasis on certain points, there is, nevertheless, a challenge to genuine thought in his book. The fact that it is being published simultaneously in Latin America gives its message great power in increasing mutuality of thought and understanding in the Western Hemisphere.

AMY BLANCHE GREENE

What Causes Unemployment?

This Unemployment. By V. A. Demant. Student Christian Movement Press. (London.) \$1.00.

THIS little book by the secretary of the research committee of the Christian Social Council of England deals particularly with the English scene; but it is valuable outside of the British Isles because the author is one of the few who have a firm grasp of both the economic and ethical factors involved in the plight which faces Western civilization. Mr. Demant agrees with many economists of the left that the basic difficulty of modern industry is that inequality of distribution forces too much capital into production and retains too little to create markets for the production. He believes, however, that most of these theories do not push the problem back far enough to discover the real basis of this maldistribution of wealth: the lack of social control of banking and credit. It is the bank, the author asserts, which creates capital in the form of credit for the purpose of expanding industrial activity. In reality this credit is merely the anticipated capacity of the community to absorb the goods the factory produces and thus repay the loan which built the factory. By regarding the banking function as a private enterprise, entitled to special returns for "creating" credit when in fact this credit is really the community's whole buying and selling process in anticipatory terms, modern society destroys the kind of mutuality which alone would make it possible for the whole community to buy back what it has produced.

Particularly instructive are Mr. Demant's pages on international trade. They throw a great deal of light upon the present crisis in England and America, two countries which have been showing in the past a large excess of exports over imports and a corresponding ability to export capital and invest it in foreign trade. All such exportation of capital, the author argues, is merely a stop-gap; for the time comes when debtor nations are too indebted to buy further goods from the creditor nation. If they are to avoid falling even more deeply in debt, they must export goods to the creditor nation not only to the extent of the imports they

receive but to the extent of paying interest on their debt. By paying for past services in the present, a debtor nation would therefore further aggravate the creditor nation's ability to maintain its employment level. It is a telling argument against the short-sighted policy of unequal distribution of wealth at home and the exportation of surplus capital abroad for purposes of financing the export of surplus goods.

Mr. Demant's book deals incisively with the whole range of modern economic theory and will give the intelligent layman a clear understanding of this complex subject.

R. N.

More of Gandhi's Story

Mahatma Gandhi at Work. Edited by C. F. Andrews. Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

IN a world where old values have crumbled, mature people are bewilderedly groping for something solid upon which to work out new standards and methods of living. Here is a book for them. Young people are disgusted with the old order and are looking for romance and high creative adventure. Here is a book for them, too. Mahatma Gandhi's life has been full of risk and daring, of pioneering among new values that are beginning to emerge in a changing world. As an experimenter in the application of high ideals, Gandhi has no equal. When reading this book one has a vivid sense of the imperishable reality of ideals and principles, and the conviction that the actions of people are only symbols of the strength or weakness of their understanding of those ideals. We realize that new values and new forms of truth must, in order to win a place in the world, first be embodied in a personality. Thus they have their greater influence, most deeply affect men's hearts and subconscious minds, most profoundly stir their imaginations.

The book is the story of the struggle led years ago by Gandhi in the Transvaal to right the wrongs of the Indian community in South Africa. They were only a few thousand poor and humble people, mostly manual workers and small traders. To Americans, such an affair among an obscure group in that small corner of the earth might not at first seem interesting or significant. But the methods used in the struggle, the fact that the issues were racial, political, and economic, and that Gandhi was the leader of these Indians make the story very important. Today we are witnessing a great renaissance of power among Asiatic peoples. Western political and economic systems are being shaken. Mahatma Gandhi has become a world figure, and the method of non-violent resistance has stirred the conscience and imagination of the world. In this volume we see the development of the leader and the forging of his new instrument for solving conflicts.

The story reveals the unique combination of qualities in Gandhi's character—his iron will and determination, his courage, energy, self-reliance and firmness; his unfailing courtesy and generosity, gentleness, friendliness, pity for suffering, and fellowship with the poorest. Also his simplicity and love of children, his unselfishness and religious faith; his patience, persistence, and freedom from anger or hate; his swiftness and clarity of thought, his insistence upon truth, his tendency to prompt action, and insight into people's characters; his grasp of detail, sense of proportion, foresight, political ability, and statesmanship.

The book is the third volume of Gandhi's autobiographical writings which C. F. Andrews has edited. It has the doubt

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raction of Gandhi's own clear and cogent style and Andrews' all and felicity of arrangement. In making this contribution toward a fuller understanding of the personality and methods of the great Indian leader, Mr. Andrews has rendered valuable service both to India and the West.

RICHARD B. GREGG

They That Take the Sword

They That Take the Sword. By Esme Wingfield-Stratford. Wm. Morrow & Co. \$4.00.

LET it be said at the outset that this is not merely another book on war. It is a highly rewarding contribution to the literature which points the way of escape from the suicide of our civilization. The author is an eminent British historian with an exceptionally wide perspective, and although he is a Doctor of Science he writes with swiftly moving passion. The temper of the volume is revealed in the following reference to the World War: "That prolonged act of criminal lunacy, in which the military and was revealed as more stupid and unteachable than at any time in the past, not only stripped the last rags of romance and decency from the business of international butchery, but made it clear as day that civilized man had received his last warning. Either he must put his house in order and adapt himself to the environment of a machine age, or perish soon and miserably."

The theory of the "original and perpetual warlike nature" of man is rejected as a fallacy. An illuminating section is devoted to an elaboration of the proposition: "It is highly probable that, for the greater part of his existence on this planet, Man contrived to exist like his cousins the apes, in entire ignorance of war and innocence of any tooth and claw struggle for survival." The rise of mass conflict and the increasing ruthlessness of war are vividly traced. Many pages are given to an expansion of the idea that the soldier is a perpetual reactionary of force. His calling is the negation of justice, of freedom, of living-kindness, and of reason." Devastating chapters interpret "the mind of the soldier," and "the soul of the soldier."

Two factors combine to transform war into holocaust: the increasing destructiveness and deadliness of available weapons, and the increasing frailty and inability of a complex society to withstand the shock of a world-wide disruption of the productive and distributive systems. Disturbing evidence is presented in a chapter "The Suicide of Civilization."

As an indictment of the war system and as a challenge to action, this volume deserves superlatives. One wishes, however, that the author had been more specific in his proposals for the abolition of war and the substitution of new attitudes, processes, and institutions.

Pictures of the horrors of war and warnings concerning the doom of civilization are not sufficient to prevent international suicide. A technique for handling crises is indispensable. Agencies must be available which are empowered quickly to assemble delegates from the various nations and to crystalize public opinion behind pacific processes. Even more important is continuing international cooperation through appropriate channels in order to prevent crises from arising. Perhaps it is too much to expect another to present in one volume diagnosis, indictment, and constructive solution. At any rate, we repeat, this volume possesses unusual merit and usefulness during these days of crisis.

K. P.

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The Theology of Nationalism

The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism. By Carlton
J. H. Hayes. Richard R. Smith, Inc. \$3.50.

NATIONALISM is one of the most powerful forces and
dominant ideas in modern history. In the form in which
it appears today in most nations, it is largely an exaggerated and
pugnacious form of egotism, a great menace to world peace. It
exalts national exclusiveness against international coöperation; it
struts about with ever larger armies and navies; it dominates
education and scholarship inculcating intellectual provincialism
it produces a nationalist journalism whose motto is "My country
right or wrong"; it creates national churches, allegiance to which
frequently goes with the state rather than the things of the spirit
it elevates national languages as symbols of national superiority
it ordains a national ritual with flag worship, national saints
national holidays, and national miracles with an intolerance sel-
dom equaled; it upholds a specious doctrine of racial preeminence
based on a mythical anthropology; it exploits "backward nations"
for the benefit of the "advanced nations."

But it was not always thus. Nationalism was born of idealism.
Its earliest form was humanitarian nationalism which sought the
good of all nations and did much to advance the study of national
languages, folk-lore, literature, and history.

To this day it has not sloughed off its idealistic trappings and
still clothes itself in extremely idealistic language. The many
wars it has provoked are all in the interest of suppressed nation-
alities, of national regeneration, or a "war to end war." There
is no greater idealist than the imperialist with his "civilizing
mission"—if you believe the nationalist. All this, however, is but
the hollow shell which once covered a sound kernel; it is but an
embalmed mummy of a once beautiful body.

This fanatical religion—for a form of religion it is—has its
national prophets and its theology. Professor Hayes has devoted
much time and energy to the study of both, and here expounds
the doctrines of nationalism as preached by its leading propa-
gandists. Like every religion it begins with noble and altruistic
ideas. Due to many causes these heaven-born doctrines soon touch
the earth, worse, they often wallow in the mud. The "degradation
of the nationalist dogma" is an excellent example of what usually
happens to an idea when faced with political and international
realities. Not that it necessarily degenerates and grows selfish
and vicious, but it is the old story of institutions often vitiating
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Professor Hayes concludes with the most pressing problem created by nationalism: international war. If nationalism is not curbed, the human race, faced with further terrible blood-letting, is doomed. The call for heading off disaster comes particularly to the United States and specifically to its peace forces. Thoughtful Americans will do well to ponder and study this arresting volume and enlist in the battle of the century against militarist nationalism.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

This Farming World

The Story of Agricultural Missions. By Benjamin H. Hunnicutt and William Watkins Reid. Missionary Education Movement. \$1.00.

The Rural Billion. By C. M. McConnell. Missionary Education Movement. \$1.00.

HERE are two interesting books about "this farming world", that region so little known to many educated persons in the United States. The work of Hunnicutt and Reid tells the story of the ways whereby Protestant church agencies have sent about 100 teachers of agriculture to teach the hungry of other lands to feed themselves. It is an exciting story of an adventure which is as yet little known even among the church constituencies. There are specific discussions of India, China, Japan, Korea, the Near East, Africa, South America. Descriptions are given of the regional, national, and international programs of rural reconstruction which missionary agencies are developing.

Professor McConnell's book covers much the same ground as that of Hunnicutt and Reid, but in more concise and journalistic fashion. Considerable reliable information is assembled in regard to economic and social status, educational opportunity, health conditions and religious institutions of the billion of the world's population who live by farming. Special attention is given to rural medical service, which is as lacking today in certain parts of the United States as in other countries. The author points out that the breakdown in this service is one which the medical profession is apparently helpless to deal with. Professor McConnell tells in lively fashion of the way those who are committed to the religion of Jesus are striving to make the earth holy.

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Organization Advice

Organization Engineering. By Henry Dennison. McGraw-Hill Company. \$2.00.

THIS volume is based on many years of successful business experience, on an unusually wide and discriminating awareness of the experience of others, on a knowledge of the help which has of late years been given to business administration by psychology and psychiatry, and on a practical application of certain fundamental principles to the organization of human relations.

Perhaps the best section in the book, never more needed than at present, is the one on re-organization. Inside and out, changes are constantly going on. Management must be so sensitive and alert, and the organization so flexible that they can recognize and meet these changes. They must see not revolution, but a steady, wisely-controlled advance, as the cure of our ills.

And if the emphasis on reorganization is the most timely, perhaps the most pleasant thing in the book is the absence of dogmatism. The attitude throughout is: so and so may be best for

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the moment, but it needs experiment and experiment, comparison of experiments, co-operative experiment.

However, the chief merit of the book is that it sees an enterprise as a whole. Some writers tell us what is economically profitable, some what is socially advantageous, some try to combine these two. The question is not considered here. It is taken for granted that a sound business is one that is economically profitable, provides for “the good life” of the individual, and serves community needs. An industrial enterprise is looked on as a unity—a unity of interweaving parts, of interweaving motives and purposes. How to make this interweaving bring the best results to workers, to owners, and to the public seems to be the underlying object of the book.

Yet *Organization Engineering*, in its implications at least, has a wider appeal than merely to those concerned with industrial enterprises. The title may sound as if the book were meant for business men only, but everyone engaged in, or interested in any kind of organization (and who indeed is not?) will find this work of interest and of practical value. That it is short and that it is written in untechnical language will contribute to its usefulness.

M. P. FOLLETT

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Japan's Economic Position. By John E. Orchard, Whittlesly House. \$5.00. The fullest and most authoritative interpretation by an American economist of the industrialization of Japan. Indispensable to an understanding of international relations in the Orient.

Roman Holiday. By Upton Sinclair. Farrar and Rinehart. 288 pp. \$2.50. Another propaganda novel with all the usual Sinclairian faults. Yet no student of social problems will want to miss it, for as an indictment of our current civilization it is honest, penetrating, and at the same time well written.

Soviet Foreign Trade—Menace or Promise? By J. M. Budish and Samuel Shipman. Liveright. 276 pages. \$2.50. An answer sponsored by the Amtorg Trading Corporation to the wild and irresponsible charges made in America against the trade policy of the Soviets. Russian trade today employs thousands of American workmen and its imports from America far outrun exports. There are chapters on “dumping” and labor.

Gimme or How Public Officials Get Rich. By Emanuel H. Lavine. Vanguard. 298 pages. \$2.50. Lavine's earlier book, *The Third Degree*, shed lurid light on the brutality of police methods. It made one feel that all too often the police were far more “public enemies” than public defenders. *Gimme* turns the spotlight on politics, especially in New York City. It is little more than a summary of the scandals revealed there in the last year or so. But this very summarizing within the covers of a single volume is appalling. Corruption, graft, and murder stalk unashamed through politics until one wonders how anything escaped the greedy and dishonorable hands of Tammany. It is a disheartening book for honest people who like to believe that public officials are public servants. Perhaps it will shock them into action and bring about a change of the whole disreputable system.

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International Law. By Ellery C. Stowell. Henry Holt & Company. \$4.75. A restatement of the principles in conformity with the actual practices of nations. The right of intervention is discussed in a long section.

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The army officer is considered safer in his calling than a boot-black, who is "rated-up" five years, or the chap who washes our motor car, who is also penalized five years in his premium rates. The nurse, on the other hand, is taking a risk on a par with firemen, and soldiers seem to risk twice as much as ladder-men in the fire department. These are peace-time estimates. In protecting home and family, the fireman pays a price, and the private pays his toll when he takes out his insurance. But he who talks most about "defending the Fatherland" seems a safe bet for longevity in the span of his years.

New York City

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS

The Statue of Liberty

RECENTLY I heard the minister of a Southern church responding to words of welcome extended to him upon his return from a trip to Palestine. One remark was to the effect that as the boat entered New York harbor and the Statue of Liberty greeted him, he wept like a child because he was so glad to return to his own country.

His words brought to my mind another incident in which the Statue of Liberty also figured. A small group of us had gone to Europe for a pleasure trip and to make some friendly contacts. In the party were three Negro young women. As we were being assigned our rooms in a London hotel, the manager saw the Negro girls and said he could not accommodate them.

"But when I was here last summer you did not discriminate," protested the leader of the party.

"Yes, but American tourists complained so much that I had to change my policy or lose their trade."

"Apparently the Statue of Liberty didn't get on the boat with us!" exclaimed Mary.

Two of us took the girls to our room until other arrangements could be made. We tried to comfort them by declaring it would not happen in any other country.

"I wouldn't mind so much, but I thought for a little while I'd get away from all that sort of thing and be treated as a free human being," sobbed Ellen.

For once in my life I felt ashamed of being white; probably

me of my own acquaintances had helped to inflict this wound
the sensitive natures of these girls and to bring about this
abarrassing situation in which I found myself.
Then I wondered what the Statue of Liberty meant to Ameri-
cans with dark skins. How could it possibly symbolize liberty
and freedom for them, when they knew that they were not free
to attend a great many churches—those institutions upholding
the brotherhood of man—or to enjoy public parks, playgrounds,
and amusement centers, designed obviously for all citizens? They
knew likewise they could not expect medical aid from many
hospitals, even though delay might endanger their lives; that
they would be refused sleeping accommodations on trains; that
they could not find a decent place in which to spend the night or
obtain a meal in many cities unless at the home of friends.
The longer I thought of the ordinary privileges denied my
colored friends and neighbors, the more skeptical I became about
such false sentiments as "sweet land of liberty" and "home of
the free." I fear I should sail past the Statue of Liberty with-
out experiencing that little thrill of joy that came to the minister.
Washington, D. C.

MILDRED ELAINE LACEY

A Miner's Views on War

I HAVE lived in America now for nearly three years and am
still an alien. Having participated in the last war as a con-
script, the horror and brutality and perhaps the stupidity of it
was brought very closely home to me. The senselessness of it
appalled me and for a long time I could not erase it from my
mind. This led me into a pledge that I would not participate in
any more on the grounds that it could not be reconciled
with my religion; on the grounds that Christ could not be con-
fected with carnage.

Unfortunately, for me, I was not conversant with the Constitu-
tion back in the Old Country, else I would not be writing to you
in this strain. Well—a pledge is pledge only in so far as the
one pledged gives it his moral support. That's true, isn't it?
and in keeping—or rather giving support to that pledge—I come
into conflict with the authorities of the State who say that loyalty
to the state must come first. To me the State is not infallible,
neither is it the final authority. I believe that in the larger re-
lationship of men and nations it is for Christianity and not for
sovereignties or legal systems—nor yet joint diplomacies—to de-
clare the ultimate principles by which men shall live.

Christianity to me is greater than secular authority. This view
opposes against that of the State's. Thus do the opposing forces
lash. Doubtless you have followed the cases of Macintosh, a
Canadian professor of theology, and Miss Bland, a nurse, both
of whom were denied citizenship owing to their refusal to bear
arms. If people of the status of those two are denied citizenship,
when there is very little hope for just a common ordinary mine-
laborer like myself. It's just too bad that things are as they are
and that the government takes such an uncompromising attitude
in this matter. It's the irony of fate that foreigners like myself
who obey the laws of the land to the letter—who help in their
own little sphere to bring the ideals of Jesus to the forefront and
in every possible way attempt to lift to a higher plane the life of
that part of the community with which they come in contact, are
denied citizenship whereas those who care nothing for these things
are taken in as long as they promise to accept that clause in the
Constitution relating to the bearing of arms. What do you think
about it?

A BRITISH MINER IN PENNSYLVANIA

WAR! Its place in the history of civilization

THEY THAT TAKE THE SWORD

by ESMÉ WINGFIELD-STRATFORD

D.Sc. M.A.

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Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid,
personally appeared A. Albert MacLeod, who, having been duly sworn according
to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE WORLD
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a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the
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Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 1060; N. Y. Co. Register's No. 2H666.
(My commission expires: March 30, 1932.)

The Last Page

IN many a place Eccentricus has filled a notebook with his observations. Every notebook has its Last Page too. For instance:

Cathedrals are cold places, as a rule. Nor can you keep your hat on, either. Why most of these divine edifices insist on the bared male head while prohibiting the bared female arm is just one of those multitudinous problems Eccentricus is planning to solve on some rainy afternoon.

I submit that the promise of burial in a chill pile of stone holds scant incentive to righteous conduct. I have stood on the cold floors of 5,038,678 cold structures, but there have been innumerable occasions when a touch of fire, be it even from the nether regions, would have come as a rescuing devil.

* * * * *

IN Milan, Prague, Rome, Belgium, France, Spain, England, and points west, I have noted beautiful or at least elaborate tombs erected in munificent splendor as monuments to men who were sometimes little more than large-scale highwaymen. I have won instant if furtive agreement from guides who have allowed their official whitewash to darken beneath the scorn of an amateur revisionist historian.

My method is essentially the same under all circumstances. "This famous man," says the mentor, with an implied do-mesol-do, "was a great general, a religious leader, conspicuous for his piety, and a conqueror whose services to his country were recognized by all." Whereupon I interject, with deadly quiet, but with a strongly implied do-sol-me-do, "Oh, well, be charitable! He may have been a decent sort in spite of that." Silence, deep thought. The idea registers, finally, with a noiseless clap like thunder in the brain. He seeks for words, finds none adequate, swallows hard five times, glares, and we proceed. But thereafter he is subdued and a little halting, like a four-cylinder car missing on three cylinders.

* * * * *

IT was a guide in Westminster Abbey (he called it the Aby, perhaps because in the cloisters there is an Irish Rose) whom I should have found a tough, tough customer. With Normala, I was looking peacefully at the last resting place of Charles Darwin, when numerous footsteps approached to the rhythm of a strident voice. "This here," it declaimed, in unctuous tone, "is a window given by the great American, James W. Gerard, in memory of British prisoners who died in German prisons." The guide walked up to Darwin's slab, and if a man can ever sniff with his feet, he sniffed at every step. "This here," he grated to the awed crowd behind him, who were indubitably impressed by his erudition, "is the grave of Darwin, the man who said we came from monkeys. A clever idea, but of course it's all wrong, and it's kinda funny to thinka his being buried here. Now, not long ago a bishop came along here and said he thought it might be true, and that plenty of good Christians thought so. Well, I-said-to-him, 'How can you dare to draw a livin' from the Churcha God an' teach such rot?'" Not one of the company of sightseers protested. All of them paused reverently before the inscription on the tomb of the unknown soldier-lad, which to Eccentricus' warped mind is the profoundest blasphemy he

has ever read. To the hushed worship of the crucifixion Christly love, all they like sheep bleated a Yea.

* * * * *

WHY Eccentricus likes the French. Outside the Zwinger Gallery, Dresden, a would-be guide was told, "I'm sorry, but I would rather have the pleasure of studying pictures by myself, all alone." Followed a ten-minute tug war. Same at Berlin, London, Vienna, Amsterdam, Florence, Venice. At the Louvre: "But of course, Monsieur, I understand." A Frenchman could. So could a man of any other nationality, perhaps. But not so easily as the Frenchman.

* * * * *

ST. PETER'S at Rome is the largest cathedral in the world. It says so in the floor where a list of the leading cathedrals is given in descending size. Which reminds me of a church I knew that advertised in the local papers: "The finest service, the largest organ, the best organist in town."

* * * * *

TELL me what interests you in a museum and I will tell you what you are. Only maybe you won't like it. Three things in three separate places of Europe are a sure-fire hit with tourists, especially with the groups of women teachers: (1) a letter in the Bargello Museum at Florence by one of the Medici to his young wife, enclosing a new picture; (2) the La Hamilton-Lord Nelson mementoes in the United Service Museum, London; (3) also at London, in Westminster Abbey, the ring that Queen Elizabeth gave to her favorite, the Earl of Essex. If this be psychoanalysis, make as little of it as you can.

* * * * *

QUEEN WILHELMINA'S birthday. A riotous Amsterdam. To celebrate: a cafe band plays the *Maine State Song* and *My Old Kentucky Home*.

* * * * *

A DUTCH island town, amid native costumes worn not for tourists but because the natives are that way. Suddenly, from a passing crowd of travellers embarking on the ferry, a girlish voice in perfect Cockney accent: "O. K., B. Boy!" The world's a small place, etc., etc.

* * * * *

"PEOPLE are all the same." Then why are old women's dresses in Holland the longest in Europe and those worn by Dutch girls the shortest? Why is it that everybody in Holland rides bicycles, and that the instant you step across the Belgian border bicycles are again a normal matter? Why, that in Holland automobiles are quiet, and the moment you come out of Antwerp, the French influence is manifest in the rattle and blaaf, blaaf, blaaf of the nasal, ear-shattering auto horns? People are constantly proving that things equal to the same thing are not equal to each other.

* * * * *

"ISAAC NEWTON," said the schoolboy, "discovered gravity when William Tell shot an apple off his head." Not to be left out, I contend, after reading over this Last Page, that even if Newton discovered gravity, I have added to it all by myself. Oh well—another time!

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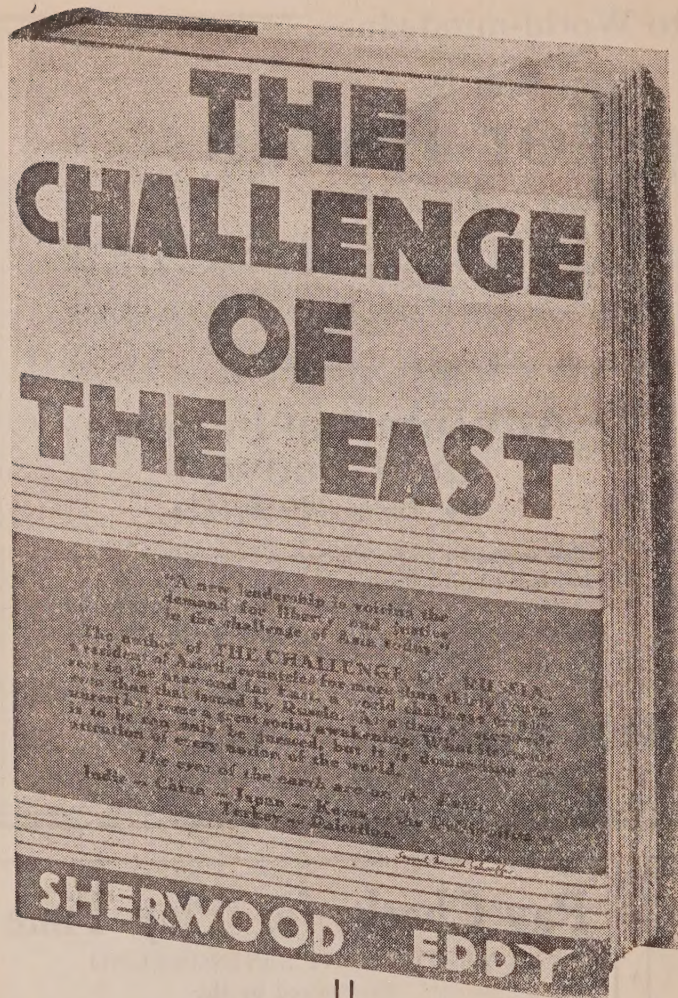
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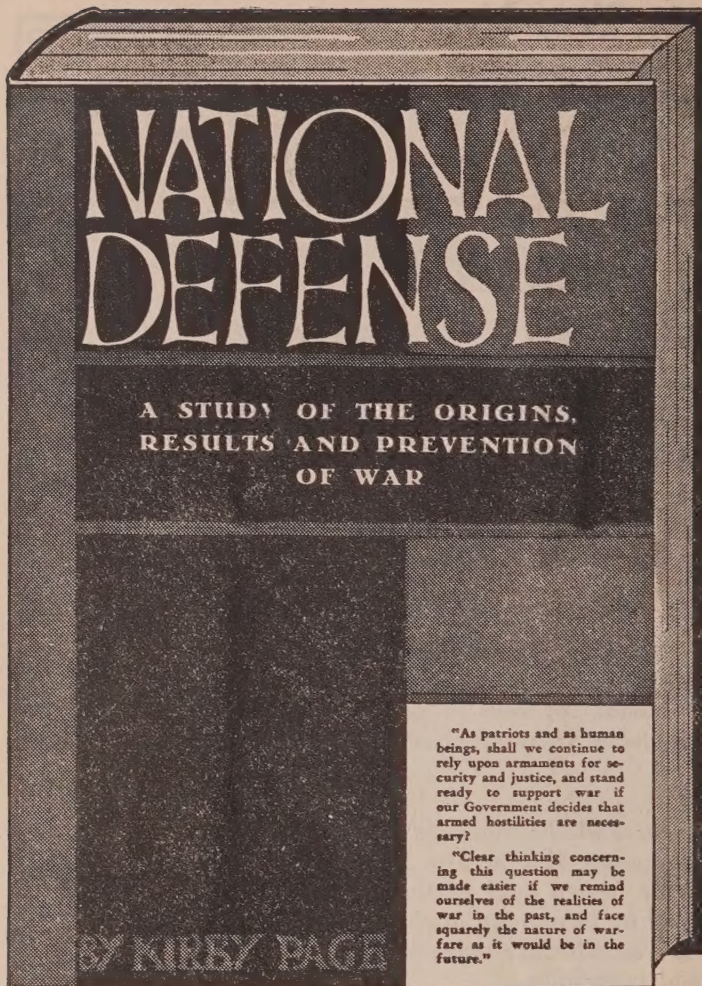
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